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SEX, CUSTOM AND PSYCHOPATHOLOGY



A TEMBU MAIDEN

Photo by Author

SEX, CUSTOM AND PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

*A Study of South African
Pagan Natives*

By

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LONDON

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS LTD.

BROADWAY HOUSE: 68-74 CARTER LANE, E.C.

1937

To
MY MOTHER

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INTRODUCTION

THE interests that moved me to undertake this ethnological and psychiatric investigation of the South Eastern Cape Bantu, in particular the Tembu tribe, on account of its proximity to the Queenstown Mental Hospital, originated in the desire to understand the social practices, beliefs and customs and their influences on psychopathology in a primitive culture. One cannot deny that a great deal of the conceptions about psychopathology lay great emphasis on environmental influences and in certain quarters almost exclude the constitutional and biological factors. These conceptions again are formed from the experience gained in the studies of psychopathological conditions existing in civilized culture, or concern individuals reared in civilized cultural patterns. The complexities and intricacies of modern civilization, with its hosts of inhibitions, instinctive thwartings and repressions, are given an importance which to a large extent overshadows those factors belonging to the domain of constitutional medicine. Most of the theories concerning the behaviour syndromes common to psychopathology lay great stress on the experiential and social aspect, and the crux of the conclusions centre round the social environment, its psychological influences, and the individual's reactions to them. If, therefore, psychiatric conditions similar to those seen in civilized individuals occur in a primitive culture with beliefs and social practices vastly different from our own, we are forced to consider these psychopathological conditions—such as the frank mental disorders—as having their causation in factors other than experiential and social. I think that I have produced evidence in this book which points to the “soma” as the ground for primary consideration—in other words, the study of the individual's constitution. It will be seen that the cultural pattern to which the native belongs, determines the nature of his mental content, but does not affect the particular form of mental disorder, namely, its structure, to the extent of making it something different from that which occurs in European culture.

From the cultural mythological aspect, one observes the close similarity in the socio-religious practices to the religions of Europe and

the East, indicating a common root in ancient pagan sacrificial practices and rites. For instance, the feast of the first fruits and the ceremonial brewing and drinking of beer seem to have something in common with the Holy Communion of the Christian Church and the feasts of Ceres and Bacchus. The latter is especially apparent in the feasts of *Utywala Bembeyu*, *Idini*, *Izila*—and especially a combination of both Ceres and Bacchus in the feast of *Umtendeleko*. Hamitic influences are noticeable in the circumcision rites; circumcision in this culture has no hygienic significance, it being exclusively an initiation into manhood, or a process of rebirth, richly clothed in symbolism.

The phallic cult which permeates this culture, with those mythological creatures of evil, is almost an object lesson illustrating Professor Freud's theories, and shows that the conceptions of psycho-analysis are not far-fetched when viewed in the light of these mythological beliefs.

As a psychiatrist in the "Union Mental Service" on the Staff of the Queenstown Mental Hospital, I had easy access to the native territories for field work. In the hospital I was in charge of the native wards, and thus availed myself of the opportunity of studying the influence of the cultural patterns and mythological beliefs on the mentally disordered native. The field work was done during the times when I was not on official duty. In view of my hospital duties, the field work presented many difficulties. Nevertheless, thousands of miles were covered by car throughout Tembuland and Fingoland, not to speak of the many weary miles done on foot.

Apart from the many difficulties that had to be overcome, ethnological investigations had to cope with the native's inherent resentful attitude towards inquiries of this nature. It must not be considered that the pagan native is ever ready to give information about his customs and secret rites. He is by nature suspicious and mistrustful of any such inquiries, and even after his confidence has been gained, one has to remain extremely tactful in order not to arouse his suspicions, or he will immediately throw up a barrier of laconic replies, or give information of a very superficial and popular nature.

So the first plan of campaign was to gain his confidence. This was done by visiting Chiefs, the kraals of Headmen, Elders and *Amaggira* and by the liberal distribution of gifts—pipes, tobacco, blankets, dress material, bangles, ear-rings, necklaces, needles and cotton. As soon as a friendly basis was established, I sought their

co-operation in the investigations of their customs and mythological beliefs. I soon learned that the native has a decided fear that the white man will restrict or abolish his tribal customs, once he knows all about them. Experience shows that many of his customs have been abolished on account of the difficulties they presented to native administration, as well as their cruelties. I have in mind the ceremony and sacrifice of the "Black Bull", which was practised by the Bacas, and which was stopped by my friend, Colonel Woon, and a troop of South African Mounted Police. In this ceremony the bull was thrown to the ground and some of the tendons in its legs were cut. The wounded animal was then chased, hobbling along, while the Chief or one of royal blood ran alongside the animal, cut a hole in its side, plunged his hand in and killed the animal by squeezing its heart. Colonel Woon (now retired) and his troop of South African Mounted Police arrived at the Chief's kraal a day before the ceremony was due to take place. They sat there with their rifles across their knees and threatened to "eat up" the hostile kraals should the ceremony be performed, and that was the end of the ceremony of the "Black Bull".

This fear of losing his customs and traditions is always present in the native mind, and his suspicion and mistrust are largely actuated by this fear. There is another factor as well, which seems to imply that revealing hidden information about his customs will expose him to the evils of witchcraft in so far as he is neglectful in guarding the customs and traditions of his tribe. We can therefore appreciate his suspicions of the white man. The question was frequently put to me: "But why do you want to know this?" It was only after I had repeatedly explained that a knowledge of his customs would assist the white man in administering to his needs and understanding the mainsprings of his conduct, that the elders and others began to co-operate and create facilities for me to make my investigations.

Unless your questions show that you are in possession of some knowledge, or at least that you know what you are after and have some definite framework on which you want to build, the native will talk for hours and impart very little of importance. The first essential was thus to build up a framework. This was accomplished through the help of the native attendants working in the hospital and the very able assistance of Male Nurse P. van der Merwe. Van der Merwe, who grew up in the native territories and speaks the language like a native, has a fair amount of general knowledge about their customs.

His acquaintance with native ways will be appreciated when I add that as a boy the natives considered him a champion stick fighter. Through van der Merwe's efforts we came in touch with Duwali Nkompela, a pagan native for whose honesty, sincerity and innate intelligence I have a profound respect.

Through the assistance of one of the native attendants, I made the acquaintance of Solomon Daba, a prominent *iggira* (or witch-doctor). One of his assistants fell foul of the headman and there was a lawsuit. Solomon Daba needed money for bail and lawyer's fees; he turned to me and I assisted him on condition that he arranged meetings for me with other witch-doctors and assisted me in my investigations. In this manner the *amaggira* let me into the secrets of the mythological beliefs among their people, and later I had the opportunity of laying all this information before the *isanuse* (Chief Diviner) Xagalalagusha, and according to his criticism, the information was correct in every detail.

The information that van der Merwe and I collected from Duwali Nkompela and his kraal was laid before the meetings of elders and councillors, called by the Chiefs and headmen to assist me, once they felt assured that my efforts were to help the native and not to deprive him of his customs. Of course there was always the reward in the distribution of gifts and money remuneration at these meetings.

I was naturally very keen to attend some of the ceremonies where I had friends who trusted me and who had sufficient influence to obtain permission for my attendance. This was exceedingly difficult, since most of the ceremonies are so secretly performed that, as van der Merwe puts it, "these ceremonies take place right under the white man's nose, while he remains unaware that anything out of the usual routine of the native's life is happening". To overcome these difficulties I organized a scout system, and runners were appointed at the various kraals to call me when anything of importance was about to happen. Another method was to leave stamped addressed envelopes, and all that the head of the kraal had to do was to take the envelope and ask the nearest trader or school-teacher to write a note informing me of the date and nature of the ceremony. By such means a great deal of the information was obtained.

The sources of information organized were as follows:

1. The hospital staff in the native wards.
2. The *amaggira* and *isanuses*.
3. Heads of kraals, elders and councillors.

4. Chiefs and headmen.

5. The magistrates and native commissioners in the territories.

All information was from time to time submitted to the meetings called at the command of the Chiefs, headmen or heads of kraals. In this respect I am indebted to Chief Velelo for his assistance. I am especially grateful to our Magistrates and Native Commissioners for the assistance they gave me. It impressed upon me the fact that they were ever willing to assist in the scientific study of the native.

It is necessary, when dealing with a scientific work, that the essentials be clearly stated and in scientific terms. Therefore, descriptions of the sexual acts, sexual organs and their occurrence in the mythological beliefs and delusions must be read as simple and direct statements of scientific and psychological value and not as material for sensual and prurient minds.

I shall always remain grateful to the Nursing Staff, especially P. van der Merwe and Parsenson Mgcodo (male native attendant), for their loyal co-operation. Of the others I wish to thank Sister van Schoor, Sister Harris and Messrs. Victor, Keenan, and van Vuuren. Finally, I am indebted to Miss Neuendorff for her assistance in correcting the manuscript, to Miss Johanson for typing it, and to Mr. H. Ewins, commercial and art photographer, for accompanying me on some of my expeditions and processing my photographs.

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12/5

SEX, CUSTOM AND PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

FOLK - LORE

Part I

CHAPTER I

ABANTUBOMLAMBO OR THE RIVER PEOPLE

IN the traditional system of beliefs of the Tembu and Fingo tribes there exists a race of people called the River People, around whom an elaborate ritual has been developed in the practice of pagan custom. In shape and form these people conform to what is known in Western mythology as mermaids. They are half fish and half human, with heads of beautiful long flowing hair. They are said to live in kraals deep down under the river, especially below the deep pools. They have their own customs and traditions, even their food and manner of preparation is different from that of the people on land.

They are a mysterious people with great powers of magic, but are elusive and not easily observed, if at all. But there are people who have seen them sitting on the rocks in the river, drying their long flowing hair in the sun. However, such occurrences are rare, for the Abantubomlambo are extremely sensitive to the presence of land people and, as soon as human beings are sensed or espied, they disappear to their homes in the depths of the pools.

Hardened elders speak of them in hushed voices, reassuringly repeating that the River People are harmless if left alone, for whatever they may do they have a right to do as guardians of tribal law and custom. They never exercise their magic powers unless someone has violated tribal traditions or requires their aid to become a healer. They are reputed to have knowledge and wisdom far beyond

that which any human can attain, and it is not unusual for those in training to become doctors and diviners, during the period of *ukutwasa* when abnormal psychic powers are developing, to have the secrets of life revealed to them by the *Abantubomlambo*. During such periods of *ukutwasa* some may run away to the hills in answer to the call of ancestral spirits. In the hills they are given the secrets of the herbal medicines, what these look like, where they grow and how to prepare them. They may even be prepared to see those unseen by the ordinary human eye. Others may dream strange dreams of insects, usually bees, or wild beasts such as lions, tigers and elephants.

With many native doctors or diviners in training, however, the *ukutwasa* may be manifested by being called to the River (*ukubizelwa ngumlambo*) by the River People. The doctor may stay for ten days or more with these people underneath the pools. This is where he is taught the secrets of the medicines and gains much wisdom about the hidden mysteries of life. When he returns after several days, with many roots, barks and other herbal medicines and claims to have been with the River People, they know that he has obtained much knowledge and is a wise man. He is not questioned about his sojourn 'neath the deep pools, for if this is revealed he will be called again and killed. Thus his mysterious training underneath the water remains sealed throughout his life. The people merely accept that he has been there because he displays the gift of looking into the future as well as bringing to light hidden things of the past, giving love-charms, healing the sick, telling where stray and stolen cattle may be, knowing the wishes and secrets in the minds of others and, above all, speaking to the departed ancestors. His sojourn with the mysterious River People is like a journey to a distant world, indeed to a treasure house of knowledge, and thus his reputation as a doctor or diviner is greatly enhanced.

So the *Abantubomlambo* serve the people of the land by giving knowledge and wisdom to those suitable persons who are to heal the sick and combat the evils of witchcraft. But as guardians of morality they also punish those who offend against the moral conscience of the tribe and from time to time demand a sacrifice for a life that should have been paid by a human being. For this reason they exercise a mysterious call, only heard by the animal or person concerned. This call can be responded to from long distances, and the animal or human being thus called will make straight for the

deep pool and disappear from sight. The natives express no resentment that their valuable cattle may be called to the River. They rather view this as a form of sacrifice or substitute for a human life. Besides, gifts to the River People bring retribution in health and good crops. Natives often express surprise if a white man appears concerned over the death of an animal, because they reason that if the animal did not die, he might have lost one of his family.

In olden times an annual sacrifice was made to the River People. An ox was slaughtered and the meat thrown into the pool. This practice was then more explicit in appeasing the *Abantubomlambo*. The fear of their wrath was always to the fore. This annual sacrifice, however, is no longer practised. This is no doubt due to the advent of European law, magistrates and mounted police, as well as the host of educational influences from church and school. But, although the annual sacrifice has disappeared and a sacrifice is made to-day only when someone has to be recalled from the River, this has in no way affected the vividness of the belief in the *Abantubomlambo*. The ceremony and sacrifice for recalling someone from the River People is performed under the direction of the chief diviner or *isanuse*.

When a member of a kraal appears listless, looks queer, roams aimlessly about, looks worried and anxious, ignores the questions addressed to him and fails to associate and communicate with those around, they know the power of the River People is at work and he may at any time be called to the River. He is kept under observation and soon, maybe, he will stand looking about as if in a dream and then start to run straight for the River. They call him by name, try to catch him and throw stones in front of him to distract his attention. They may catch him and tie him up at home until the *Abantubomlambo* have claimed some animal sacrifice as a substitute, but it happens at times that the one called will outstrip his pursuers and plunge straight into a deep pool. As soon as this happens they quickly return to the kraal to tell the others and to warn them not to weep, for if anyone weeps, he will surely be killed.

The *isanuse* is immediately called. He, with all the people of the kraal driving their cattle in front of them, proceeds to the pool. The cattle are driven into the pool and the one which goes farthest in is the one selected by the River People. This beast is slaughtered at the side of the pool, the flesh is cut into sections and thrown into the water. The flesh from the right side of the beast, they say, will remain in the water and that from the left side will float to the side

of the pool. This is picked up because it indicates that the River People find the meat pleasant and have returned some. Should the relatives have no cattle of their own they must purchase an animal which must be fawn in colour. This has reference to the Hippopotami, which are considered to be the cattle of the River People.

From the time the cattle for selection are driven into the water, the members of the kraal gather on the banks of the river. With rhythmic clapping of hands a dance starts. A circle is formed and the dancers leap into the circle with stamping and prancing movements. The legs are thrown forward and brought down in an arched manner. The toes hit the ground first and this is followed by two jerky movements of the ankle and finished by a quick tap of the heel on the ground. The clapping of hands and the chanting grows in force as the dance proceeds.

The uninitiated, or those who have not gone through the *Abakweta* ceremony, press close together in a long single file. Their bodies pressed together, they stamp and chant; every now and then a flash and a clash as the *kieries* (sticks) meet above their heads. The dance continues, and, if the River People are satisfied, the one "called" will appear in the centre of the pool and soon after will emerge none the worse for his experience. He will then be taken in hand by the *isanuse* and treated for his abnormal condition.

The dancing and chanting may continue for days, and if the "called" one does not re-appear, it is a sign that someone in the crowd has wept and the River People have taken the life of the one they called. After a few days the body will be seen floating on the surface of the pool with bits of flesh bitten out. This, to the natives, is convincing evidence that he was killed by the River People. The presence of numerous crabs in these pools is in no way connected with the missing bits of flesh from the body.

Apart from *isanuses* and other native doctors who claim to have been with the River People during *ukutwasa*, I could not find one person who had been called and came out alive. I know of many who were called but were restrained and in consequence lost their senses and are now patients in the mental hospital. The native people in the territories claim there are people who have come back alive. It is added, however, that out of fear of death these people will never reveal what they have seen down 'neath the deep pools.

The awe in which the River People are held is frequently portrayed in the behaviour of a native woman going down to a pool for water. She approaches the water in a stealthy, wary manner, concealing her approach by keeping behind cover and suddenly she throws a stone into the pool to frighten the River People away before she draws her water. Otherwise they may drag her in. The River People are said to cause epileptic seizures in some, as a form of punishment for wrong doing.

The description given of the type of person who is called to the River, or of his condition during *ukutwasa* just prior to calling, portrays fairly accurately a catatonic phase or depressive phase in a schizophrenic or manic-depressive or epileptic psychosis. It is not uncommon, if one goes into detail of the mental content of native schizophrenic patients, to elicit from them that they were *ukutwasa* and heard the call of their ancestors or the River People, but were prevented from undergoing the training of an *isanuse* by the other people.

It will be observed that suicide by drowning is attributed among these pagans to the call of the *Abantubomlambo*. Auditory hallucinations, inspired by these mythological people, are often early components of an epileptic or schizophrenic psychosis. The myth seems primarily to have its function in the dynamic qualities of conscience or guilt complexes. The elders maintain that people who are to be punished are called for the violation of tribal customs. The payment of an ox in sacrifice is not only a substitute for the life they desire back, but is equally a punishment or compensation for living contrary to traditional custom and law. Thus the River People, with all the mystery of their existence, support the maintenance of patriarchal law.

As usual, the failure of the ritual of sacrifice signifies that someone has broken one of the essential conditions. It is simply and credulously accepted that if the one "called" does not return alive, someone has wept; there is no need for objective evidence, since only weeping can cause his death. Weeping is an emotional appeal to the one "called" to come back to the kraal. This would therefore disturb and distress him by sympathetic influence while he is with the River People and his stay underneath the water would be against his desires. This angers the River People, for he will attempt to get back without a sacrifice or retribution in the form of a killing to which they are entitled. This further indicates that

the River People are just and that one must pay the penalty of one's misdeeds. These River People, in this way, become symbolic of the super-ego or the moral laws of the people.

There are several components involved in this myth which concern man's psychological development. A Tembu epileptic patient described in detail how, when he was brought to the hospital, he escaped from his escorts and ran into a pool in the river. Suddenly he found himself underneath the pool. There were beautiful huts decorated with paintings in coloured clay, of flowers and animals. There were kraals full of cattle and fowls and dogs were roaming between the huts. The people, with long hair, were half human and half fish. They did not stop him so he came up at the other end of the pool, only to be dragged out by his escorts. This delusional experience is of interest. Anyone who has visited the River People is a wiser and greater and better being than before. There is some mysterious inflation of the ego, as if he had shed his former bad qualities and had almost been in contact with Nirvana. Now it is not uncommon to find in the mental content of native epileptics the question of psychological death and rebirth, or the exalted revelation of a new light of life, usually sudden and dramatic in appearance. The patient mentioned felt that his eyes had been opened and to him were revealed the seat of wisdom and power. There seems to be some symbolic significance between birth, rebirth, incest wishes in the Oedipus complex and a visit to the River People.

This primitive belief in the *Abantubomlambo*, implying punishment components and the belief of coming back from the pool a changed person with a wider range of knowledge, lends support to the psycho-analytic conception that dreams about entering water are symbolic of the birth process or womb phantasies. In this respect it is of interest to quote Freud :

" In dreams, as in mythology, the delivery of a child from the uterine waters is commonly presented by distortion as the entry of the child into the waters ; among many others the births of Adonis, Osiris, Moses and Bacchus are well-known illustrations of this." ¹

Rituals associated with the water in the *Abakweta* ceremony further illustrate the pagan's conception of rebirth, but it implies something besides, and this is the punishment component of this myth, which in such a setting appears to have reference to incest wishes.

¹ *The Interpretation of Dreams*, by Prof. Sigmund Freud.

Symbolically we may interpret the desire to go to the River People as synonymous with birth phantasies and the sacrifice of a life, or that of an ox, as a punishment involved in the Oedipus complex.

Part II

CHAPTER II

TIKOLOSHE, IMPUNDULU AND INYOKA

THERE are three significant beings in the folk-lore of the Tembu and Fingo, and these are the *Tikoloshe*, the *Impundulu* and the *Inyoka*. They have been personified in the beliefs and customs of the people as three natural living objects. Although to the European they may appear fabulous, the natives never doubt the reality of their existence because they are woven into the memories of their lives.

That they have a constructive value, there can be no doubt, because elucidation of their influence will show that they fulfil the infantile wishes of this culture and that their existence is but a disguised realization of these wishes. In fact, in this pagan, primitive culture, their existence is but a screen for those desires forbidden by law and custom. They form the mainstay of witchcraft, and their influence on the mental and erotic life of the people will become clear in the course of this study.

TIKOLOSHE OR HILI

The best-known and the most common of the mythical figures in the traditional beliefs of the people is the *Tikoloshe*, who is said to be a mischievous little fellow with aggressive sexual proclivities. This *Tikoloshe* plays a very important part in the sex psychology of both Tembu and Fingo.

Most of his activities seem to be related to women, and they speak of him with shy, embarrassed smiles. He is described as a dwarf-like little man with short limbs and a powerful, thick-set body. He wears a sheep-skin wrapped round his shoulders. One of his outstanding physical characteristics is his huge penis. Women never neglect to mention this organ in their descriptions of the *Tikoloshe*.

There is, of course, not only one *Tikoloshe*, but many. They

have their own wives and procreate as human beings do. They have their little homes in the rivers, underneath the water, and some of the monitor species of lizard are reputed to be their servants who take cow-dung to their little homes for smearing the floors. Thus the natives maintain that wherever this monitor abounds, there the *Tikoloshes* will be found.

It is said that the *Tikoloshe* is very fond of children, and many stories are told by boys (*amakwenkwe*) of the wonderful games they have had with the *Tikoloshe*. When they are out on the veld, herding their father's cattle, the *Tikoloshe* visits them and even engages in stick fights with them. They speak with awe and admiration of his skill as a fighter. Sometimes, when they are far away from home, and hungry, the *Tikoloshe* makes himself invisible and steals food for them from the kraals. He is known to the boys by the name of *Sinkanselana*. The *Tikoloshe* always warns the boys never to speak at home about the little man who played with them in the veld.

These boys roar with laughter when they describe his comical and amusing behaviour. At times, while someone is milking a cow, the *Tikoloshe* will be milking from the other teats of the cow (of course invisible to the adult milker, but not to the boys), and this causes no end of amusement among the boys. They love to see their little pal outwit the grown-ups.

Although the *Tikoloshe* is very fond of milk (especially sour milk, or calabash milk), he abhors any food containing salt, for salt is fatal to him. On account of his great liking for sour milk, the wives claim that he roams about at night and drinks the calabash milk at the kraals. The importance of this charge concerns the very definite taboo on wives handling the calabash milk unless it is first handed to them by one of the male members of the kraal. It is possible that the wives surreptitiously drink of this calabash milk in the absence of the men, and blame it on the *Tikoloshe*.

The *Tikoloshe* has great knowledge of witchcraft, as well as the ability to employ evil powers, and he is frequently named as the vehicle by means of which other persons exercise witchcraft. But he is also known to put himself at the disposal of those wishing to counteract witchcraft, so that he is not under all circumstances a little fellow of evil. It is said to be rare for the *Tikoloshe* to kill anyone, apart from choking the person in his sleep, unless that person is guilty of sexual relations with one of his paramours.

There are many stories concerning the *Tikoloshe*, and many peculiarities are attributed to him, but his most outstanding activity, and the activity for which he is best known, is his promiscuous sexual intercourse with women. These sexual acts are always performed at night while the husband is asleep. The *Tikoloshe* is always invisible to adults, but in spite of his invisibility the woman knows, for although she does not see him, she experiences the sexual act, more often in the form of a dream. Further evidence in the morning, of vaginal secretions, is considered proof by her that she had a visit from the *Tikoloshe* during the night.

No native woman (other than those mentally disordered) will admit to a man that she is being visited by the *Tikoloshe*, unless under circumstances where a confession is imperative to prevent someone else suffering. The husbands suspect their wives of having sexual relations with the *Tikoloshe* especially when the women are cold and not interested in them sexually. The *Tikoloshe* has even been accused of defloration of a virgin when no one else could be found responsible.

A woman who has sexual relations with a *Tikoloshe* runs the risk of his wrath should she forsake him for a lover. Apart from causing insanity in the women, he has been known to have bewitched the men. The following story was related by a very intelligent pagan native.

His brother married a very pretty girl, but on the wedding night, although they all listened intently, she did not shout. This was observed on each subsequent night while the *Abafana* and girls slept with the bridal couple in the honeymoon hut. A year later, when his brother's wife was not yet pregnant, he became concerned and questioned him about his marital relations. His brother looked upset, wept and said he could not tell him anything else excepting that someone beat him at night when he was with his wife. At this time the man would fall asleep almost anywhere, and complained that he could not keep awake.

The informant decided to take his brother to a native doctor. The latter diagnosed evidence of severe bodily ill-treatment, and gave as his opinion that the man was being beaten. The doctor added that the patient's wife had a *Tikoloshe* and that this *Tikoloshe* was preventing the patient from performing sexual relations. The wife was said to have a *mina-mina* (that is, a mucous polypus), which prevented her from becoming pregnant.

To digress for a moment ; it is of interest to describe the native operation for this condition of the cervix. By shaving and stripping off the outer cover of a bamboo stick, they obtain a long, flexible, sharp cutting edge. This is inserted into the vagina in the form of a loop, and by means of twisting and sawing movements, the polypus is removed. Native women describe this operation as very painful, and at times it requires several people to hold the patient down. Medical men will recognize the similarity of this method to that employed for snaring polypi in the nose, as well as to the gynæcological method of clamping the mucous polypus by means of forceps and twisting it off. The natives apply hot ash to the part after the operation.

To revert to our story ; the patient admitted to the doctor that the *Tikoloshe* had sexual relations with his wife at night, and whenever the patient protested the *Tikoloshe* beat him. Hence, for fear of losing his life, he suffered in silence.

When this was told to the people of the kraal, they would not believe such a thing of the wife, because they were very fond of her. A little while later, however, the brother became paralysed and died, and the widow is to this day reputed to be the paramour of the *Tikoloshe*.

The symptoms of this man's illness suggest that he suffered from encephalitis. My informant does not deny the diagnosis, but holds the *Tikoloshe* responsible for the disease.

Women seldom bear children as a result of sexual relations with the *Tikoloshe*. This is ascribed to the fact that he is extremely careful and carries medicines for preventing conception. Where a woman bears a child by the *Tikoloshe*, the infant can immediately be recognized as his, on account of some prominent deformities. For instance, some children have huge heads, which become heavier and bigger until the child can scarcely hold the head in an upright position. (These are undoubtedly cases of hydrocephalus.) Again, there are children with very small heads, who never develop any senses. (This refers to cases of microcephalus.) Others take more definitely after the father (namely the *Tikoloshe*) since they are deformed in body, having very short legs and arms but long in the trunk. (This group can be classed under Achondroplastic dwarfs.) Other children again, are said to have been born without brains, having a part of the skull missing. They are said to have large bulging eyes, and are horrible to look at. (This latter description

is rather a good one of anencephalus.) Thus the *Tikoloshe* is held responsible for all the monstrosities and dwarfs born of women. Such women may be driven from the kraal, since the children are evidence of their evil associations. It is fortunate for the women that such births are indeed rare.

The *Tikoloshe* plays a very prominent part in the psychotic picture of female native schizophrenic patients, whereas it has not been found in the delusions of male patients. Even a mute and inaccessible female patient will look up and smile coyly at the mention of *Tikoloshe*. On the whole, if the question is put in a direct manner, the answer is in the negative, in spite of the obvious embarrassment of the patient, but if it is asked "whether she has bad dreams" or "if she sees anyone at night in the room or dormitory", the patient in nine cases out of ten, will describe seeing a little black boy with a large penis, indulging in sexual acts with the other patients. Of course he also comes to her, and when she refuses him he chokes her. Under this choking experience, they describe a series of symptoms indicative of night terrors.

He is frequently accused of urinating inside their vaginas and laughing at their predicament. At times, if his advances are resisted he urinates on their backs. The majority of patients relate that he comes to them during their dreams; that is, they dream that he is having intercourse with them. This experience, however, is not accepted as being entirely phantastic. It merely means that should they resist his advances in the waking state, he will take advantage of them during sleep and they experience the act in the form of a dream. They know this is so, because of the increased vaginal secretions after such dreams. This dream interpretation is not only peculiar to the psychotic, but is equally accepted by those in the kraals. The native recognizes the dream substance as part of his own thinking and feeling; perhaps due to the superficiality of his repressive forces. Thus the domain of phantasy and myth invades objective reality and fuses with it.

The conscious reactions of patients in enumerating the nocturnal visits of the *Tikoloshe* always bear evidence of shyness, evasiveness and projection. Their projections exonerate them from having anything to do with him in a direct manner, so that rationalizing disguises and some form of repression are operating in their minds. The taboo of the kraal still holds good as a form of social conditioning.

The reticence of the female mental patient in regard to the *Tiko-*

loshe is a fairly good indication of the secrecy exercised by the average woman in the native kraals. Numbers of women interviewed in the kraals asserted that the *Tikoloshe* provides greater gratification than a man, but all equally firmly denied ever having had this experience. They had heard of someone who knew someone who had had this experience. These views were expressed with conviction and a sense of indignation when the reality of the *Tikoloshe* was questioned. As one woman remarked, "If you were a woman, you would believe he is real, for you wouldn't need to see him." Little did she realize how she revealed her erotic phantasies by this statement.

The wives mention that it is not uncommon for women when gathering wood or gossiping at the water to relate their dreams to each other, particularly the dreams about the *Tikoloshe*. Such dreams are not considered to mean that the woman has a *Tikoloshe* of her own, as long as she does not mention it in the hearing of men.

Close on a hundred girls, with ages ranging from sixteen to eighteen, were interviewed in various parts of the Transkei for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and content of their dreams. Practically every one of them mentioned dreams in which the *Tikoloshe* figured prominently and sexually. Whenever in the dream they resisted his advances, he choked them and they woke up in terror, and at times screamed in their sleep. They believe the dream intercourse is playful and it does not mean that they are bewitched by him, because they do not desire him during the day.

THE IMPUNDULU

This bird is a powerful carrier of witchcraft, and if not the most potent in this respect is certainly the most sadistic of all the mythical beings. Its normal appearance is supposed to resemble a young ostrich but it is known to have many disguises and frequently appears as a Secretary bird. Its downy, beautifully soft and highly prized feathers are much coveted by witch-doctors, and are used in medicines.

The *Impundulu* plays the most prominent part in persecutory witchcraft, and is reputed to be merciless in its attacks on the victim. People so attacked cough up blood and frequently die. In consequence, pulmonary tuberculosis is considered as the work of the *Impundulu*. Recently at the *Bunga* or Native Parliament at Umtata, one of the elders remarked that the scourge of tuberculosis among the natives was worse than an attack by the *Impundulu*. Although

this was reported in the Press, the European remained oblivious of the deep association in the native mind between the *Impundulu* and tuberculosis.

The sight of blood incites the *Impundulu* to further attacks, since blood is said to be his staple diet. The sadistic attributes of this bird are also exercised in the sexual sphere and it is believed to cohabit quite regularly with witches. The *Impundulu's* penis is described as long, thick and flat and about the size and appearance of an ox tongue.

Like the *Tikoloshe*, the *Impundulu* has numerous paramours and also possesses the power to become invisible to the human eye or change himself into some other harmless-looking animal, domestic or wild. If one of his women keeps company with a man, the *Impundulu*, if he is jealous, will attack the man in his sleep. The first attack is usually a warning and corresponds to our ideas of a nightmare or night terrors. One such victim interviewed stated that he felt a heavy weight on his chest, and something choking him, which made him powerless to scream for help. When he came to himself his body was trembling and he was bathed in perspiration.

The natives speak with a tinge of fear about the *Impundulu*, whereas they are at times amused at the doings of the *Tikoloshe*. The *Impundulu* has a host of other birds at his command, which convey witchcraft and evil omens for him. These birds are sent as warnings to indicate that the *Impundulu* is rejoicing at the coming death of someone.

When the *Fubese*, a whitish owl, "hoots" at the cattle kraal, it means that someone is going to die and the most famous *isanuse* will be powerless to prevent death. A colleague of mine nearly lost some of his native patients on account of having window curtains with pictures of owls in his native consulting-room.

The *Isikova* is another owl, not considered such a bad omen as the *Fubesi* but sufficiently serious to necessitate sending for an *isanuse* should the bird be seen at the cattle kraal.

The *Tekwane* (known in Afrikaans as *Hamerkop* on account of the peculiar hammer-like shape of its head) is another bird of ill-omen, and its presence near the kraal is taken to mean that someone is exercising witchcraft influences on a member of the kraal.

A small brown owl known to the natives as *Debeza* is also reputed to foreshadow death. The list of evil-carrying birds is formidable and includes *Ilulwane* (bat), *Intyili* (kingfisher) and *Ingwanza* (stork).

The *Inganga*, a species of vulture, portends, by its presence, a coming catastrophe such as war, pestilence or severe and prolonged drought.

A group of elders told me a series of tales, handed down from generation to generation, in which the *Inganga* foreshadowed some national disaster, including both the defeat of Dingaan's *impis* by the Dutch Voortrekkers and the Great War. In this way they look, in the skies and round about their homes, for ominous signs which presage coming events against which they are powerless.

As these birds are associated with disaster for the people, so the bird, as a phallic symbol, is associated with disaster for the individual and illustrates the importance of the phallic cult in this culture. The natives believe that the *Impundulu* and *Tikoloshe* are friends and have a special meeting-place in the skies, called *Esqitini*. Here they plan ways and means of seducing women. There are times when they quarrel, since the *Impundulu* is physically much stronger than the *Tikoloshe* and the latter may become jealous of the successes of the *Impundulu*. But the *Tikoloshe* is not to be trifled with if angered, for he has the stronger medicines of the two.

It is said that the *Impundulu* visits the witch at night when her husband is asleep. On such occasions the witch puts her husband to sleep by means of magic passes over his eyes, and when he is in a deep sleep the *Impundulu* comes to her. The *Tikoloshe*, who is aware of this, speaks to the husband in his dreams and instructs him what to do on the following night. The next night the *Impundulu* comes as usual and the husband merely pretends to be asleep in spite of the magic passes, for he has taken of the medicines prescribed by the *Tikoloshe*. The *Impundulu*, being no longer invisible to the husband, is observed by him in the sexual act with the witch. During the orgasm, while the *Impundulu* is paralysed for a brief moment, the husband jumps up and stabs him to death with an assegai. He attains great wealth by selling the feathers of this bird. As the *Tikoloshe* is held to be the procreator of monsters, so the *Impundulu* is said to be responsible for the birth of vampires.

One afternoon, at a gathering of elders comfortably smoking in the warm sun at the cattle kraal, the following story was related by an elder as within the recollection of several of those present. Some years ago, there was a pretty young woman in the district, noted for her disdainful treatment of men. On account of her aloofness, however, and her great beauty and physical attractiveness, the men were so enamoured of her that they could not leave her alone. Men

vied with each other for her attentions in spite of her indifference and coldness towards them. At last came a day when she had to be married, for her people were not wealthy and had had a great deal of expense with her *Intonjane*. Therefore it was her duty to bring *Lobola* cattle to her kraal. She was married, much against her will, for twenty head of cattle, by means of *ukutwala* (kidnapping by consent of parents). She fought and struggled but was beaten and carried off by her kidnappers. The wives expressed their opinions at the time that this girl had some secret power of witchcraft which made her so much sought after by men and at the same time gave her power to resist their advances.

After her marriage she fulfilled the usual duties required of her at her husband's kraal but remained sexually cold towards her husband and nothing he did could please her. A year passed and still she did not become pregnant, until it was decided to take her to an *isanuse*. The latter diagnosed sterility and treated her for this condition. She was given the *Isiko Lobulunga* ceremony and drank medicines. After treatment for a time, she became pregnant and gave birth to a male child. While the midwife was still busy with the baby, the mother left the hut and went out into the night. Thinking that she wanted to perform some natural function, her leaving the hut did not create concern at the time. When, however, she did not return within a reasonable time, they became anxious and started to look for her but she was nowhere to be found in the kraal. They appealed to the informant, who was a neighbour, to give assistance in the search. As he knew the history of this girl wife, he suspected that she would return to her own mother's kraal, so he went to the headman and requested that he should accompany him to this kraal. On arrival the headman demanded an explanation from the girl but she only wept and was unable to look them in the face. After insistent and repeated questioning, she turned on her mother and said, "You gave me those things. You told me they would give me happiness that no man can ever give me. Instead they have brought me misery and sorrow. You said I would be contented at that kraal but look what you have done. When the child of those people was born it would not take my breast and I knew I was in disgrace."

The mother, who appeared very embarrassed, refused to speak there but decided to accompany them to the son-in-law's kraal. When they arrived at the kraal all of them entered the hut where the child was born. (This is mentioned because in the ordinary course

of events, entrance to this hut is forbidden to men. They are allowed, however, to enter if something seriously is at fault, especially in the nature of witchcraft.) The mother was pressed by those present to confess what she had done to her daughter. Her own son who accompanied them was most insistent, for he was smarting under the disgrace she had brought to his kraal. She replied, "I will confess, so as to free my daughter from the evil spell. I have the *Ugaty*a (charmed snake), the *Ingumbane* (evil snake), the *Tikoloshe* and the *Impundulu*." Everybody was amazed and horrified at this confession, for they had never heard of a woman having so many evil associates, nor had they ever suspected her of being a witch.

The headman said, "Well, if you have spoken the truth, the child will drink if put to the breast." The child was put to the breast, but would not drink. She was commanded to reveal more as there was still something she had not confessed. Thereupon she wept and said, "I have committed adultery with my brother." Immediately she confessed this last part, the child started to suck at the breast. This woman ultimately lost her senses. (Their idea of a psychosis.) The daughter was treated by the *isanuse* and was freed from the evil spell.

This case is of great psychiatric interest. One can assume that the trouble had its origin in the Oedipus complex and was a homosexual attachment between mother and daughter: both, no doubt, indulged in some form of erotic practice. The subsequent psychosis of the mother shows that the projection of her own erotic phantasies (utilizing the existent belief in the elements of folk-lore) were conveyed to her daughter by suggestion and accepted by her as a result of her fixation on the mother who was evidently already psychotic at this time. Since there is complete harmony between existent beliefs and delusions based on these beliefs, her conduct was not considered as insane. The confession was one way of giving expression to her guilt complexes and was a confession which could only be adequately understood if personified in the forms of mythical figures. Even the guilt resulting from her forbidden incestuous wishes was to be expiated by a confession. Incest is looked upon with horror by the natives, and whenever it occurs it is attributed to seduction by a witch. A study of the histories of a few witches bore ample evidence that they were psychotic persons, suffering from schizophrenia.

Of equal interest are the reasons given by this woman for having these various objects of witchcraft. She claimed that she kept the

*Ugaty*a for sexual pleasure which men could not give her. Besides, it gave her power over men, as it gave her daughter power over men. The *Ingumbane* she gave to the *Tikoloshe* who carried it to those people whom she wanted bitten. The *Tikoloshe* was her lover and his passions surpassed those of any man. He always had intercourse with her in her dreams. The *Impundulu* came to her for the same purpose and in the same manner. He was more cruel and insatiable than the *Tikoloshe*; nevertheless she desired him as well, on account of his peculiar manner of performing sexual intercourse. (Some claim that the *Impundulu* mounts the woman from the back, in the manner birds mate.)

While I was attending the hearing of a family dispute brought before Chief Velelo for his judgment, the complainant described having seen an *Impundulu*, in the form of a Secretary bird, on her hut. The trouble concerned a family quarrel between two cousins of the chief. The complainant was a widow who lived in the male cousin's kraal. Her mother took ill and she requested the male cousin, Mompalo, to kill a goat as a sacrifice and to call in a native doctor, which he did. The doctor he called in was not the one she wanted, but was Mompalo's friend. After taking his medicines, her mother improved.

One evening, while she and her mother were sitting round the fire in their hut, she heard a fluttering noise on the roof of the hut. She went out to investigate and saw the most unusual sight; a Secretary bird with red legs was sitting on top of their hut. At this stage of her evidence, she paused and demanded of Velelo and his councillors, in a most dramatic manner whether any of them had ever seen or heard of a Secretary bird alighting on a hut in a kraal. When Velelo bade her to proceed with her evidence, she continued that since this was a most unusual thing, it could not possibly have been a real Secretary bird, but it must have been the *Impundulu* himself in disguise. Therefore she immediately suspected witchcraft and sure enough, the very next day, her mother became worse. (It is of course understood that she communicated what she had seen to her mother.)

In view of what she had seen and the subsequent illness of her mother, she straight away sent for the favourite doctor. The latter and his retinue of female pupils attended the hearing as witnesses. Velelo explained to me that this doctor was unmarried, very popular among the women and well known for his many intrigues with wives.



Photo by Van der Merwe

THE IMPUNDULU TRIAL

Author seated next to Chief Velelo. The Councillors are seated against the wall. The Plaintiff is in the foreground next to the fowl

A number of wives and unmarried girls always accompanied him, for they were supposed to be studying the art of concocting medicines as well as studying his methods of treatment. In fact, he had no kraal of his own, but lived from kraal to kraal wherever he had a pupil. The husbands disliked the fellow, but did not wish to prevent their wives from following such an honourable calling.

Mompalo disliked this doctor intensely ; in fact, he assaulted him once when he found him in his hut talking to his wife. He gave some irrelevant excuse that his wife was prevented by this man from keeping the cattle out of the mealie lands. Thus, when he saw the doctor and his female pupils entering his cousin's hut, in his own kraal, he commanded him to leave. The cousin and all the women objected to this and turned on Mompalo. In the scuffle which ensued, Mompalo tore off his cousin's skirt and threw it on the fire. In addition to this, he drove her away from his kraal and refused to provide for her any longer ; and so the matter was laid before Velelo, as Chief and head of the family, for his decision.

Before discussing the psychological factors underlying this dispute, it is of interest to give Velelo's ruling and his admonitory advice to his cousin Mompalo. The following was taken down verbatim, while he was speaking :

" You are a man of hasty temperament. You attacked this doctor, not because he came to see your aunt, but because you have a private grudge against him. I am not concerned here with that grudge, but I am concerned with the fact that you laid your hands on him to eject him forcibly from the hut, and in doing so you committed an act of assault. If the doctor had laid a charge of assault against you to the Police, it would have been a disgrace to one of royal blood. You accused the doctor of threatening to kill you, and you accused him of preventing your wife from keeping the cattle out of the mealie lands. Surely you know our customs sufficiently well to know that no wife can be held responsible for the movements of cattle, but that this is the work of the boys. You tore your cousin's skirt and threw it in the fire. Here it is, practically destroyed by the flames. For this, you shall give her two new skirts. But this is not all ! You drove her from your kraal, forgetting that she was placed in your care by the laws and customs of our people. It is indeed a sorry day for me that you, of the blood of the Velelos, should break what is an honoured tradition in our family. With these hands of mine I worked for the elders of my family, now dead. With these hands I washed and buried their dead bodies. With these hands did I work to feed their orphans. Not one of them ever wanted for food, while I had to give, for this is the tradition of my family. And now you, my cousin by the blood of our

father, want to drive this widow, your cousin, from your kraal ! Is it an easy matter for you to see your relatives roaming about like vagrants, having no home to call their own ? Is it an easy matter for you that they should be fed by strangers, out of pity ? (Strangers who will know, by the questions they will ask, that a Velelo has refused to care and provide for his relatives.) Are you prepared to bring this disgrace on your family name ? What of those who have gone before ; are you honouring them by doing this ? No ! There is only one way in front of you—the way of our people and not the way of your hasty mind. Take this widow back ; care and provide for her as you have done before ; forgive her, and let your home be her home. Remember, you have been blessed with the wherewithal to do so ; also remember that those who gave can also take away ! ”

During Velelo's dramatic oration, he walked up and down among them and when he had finished Mompalo acknowledged his wrong and promised to take the widow back and give her two skirts.

It will be observed that Velelo made no mention of the *Impundulu* in his judgment. He confined himself entirely to the dispute before him. These hearings, brought before the Chief, were always of interest, especially the part played by the councillors or elders who, from time to time, pulled up the witness and reminded him that he was going off the point and introducing irrelevant material. It further brought to light the interesting psychological trait of the native, namely that a matter must be leisurely talked out. Once he has done his talking and is convinced that the matter is right according to custom, he apparently bears no ill-feeling, and when the case is settled everybody is friendly.

An interesting feature of this case was the widow's suspicion of witchcraft, and here we have a triad : the widow, the favourite doctor and the *Impundulu* (the phallic symbol). If the widow's suspicions were given in form of a dream, the manifest content of the dream would convey the impression that what she really desired was a lover, portrayed as a phallic symbol—the bird—but not the one selected by Mompalo. So her thinking, formulated along the tenets of witchcraft, was synonymous with the mechanism of dream formation. She projected her own desires for a phallus by accusing Mompalo's doctor of sending one in the guise of an *Impundulu*. She rejected this phallus by sending for her favourite doctor, but she could only rationalize this desire by having an illness in the home as a legitimate reason for calling him in. Thus, by utilizing her mother's illness, she could satisfy her conscience and by so doing she selected

a phallic symbol noted for its sadistic conquest. In calling in the witch-doctor, who was well-known as a "Don Juan," she portrayed her ungratified sexual desires.

The *Impundulu* commonly features in the delusions and hallucinations of female schizophrenic patients. He usually appears to them in bad dreams. He sits on their chests and tries to choke them because they refuse him sexual liberties. Here again one must carefully ascertain the reasons and nature of the so-called "bad dreams," for any direct or leading question naming the *Impundulu* might produce negative responses. Many a patient, acutely disturbed, and while actively hallucinated, would point to the roof and say, "Don't you hear the fluttering of his wings?" Unless one is acquainted with the folk-lore of these people, this remark may have no meaning, and since psychiatrists make their interrogations through the medium of native interpreters, these interesting interpolations may not be understood. The native interpreters may feel shy or be averse from translating these details. They consider the main interest of the psychiatrist is to ascertain mental disorder and not the component elements of folk-lore which appear in the delusional trend. Hence, apart from the co-operation of the patient, the psychiatrist must obtain, in the first instance, the constructive co-operation of the interpreter, otherwise the mental content is rarely probed and this rich domain of archaic thinking is bereft of its importance.

THE INYOKA (SNAKE)

These are of two kinds, the *Ugatyá* (charmed snake) and the *Ingumbane* (evil snake). The elder women of the kraal, who examine the girls, claim that mothers hand these snakes down to their daughters and cases are known where witches have done so. Of course the possession of the *Inyoka* is never revealed to anyone. Since it is kept for sexual gratification, the revelation of such knowledge would be a disgrace.

There are certain forms of behaviour well known to the people, which indicate that a woman is bewitched by a snake or keeps one for sexual purposes. Such a woman will lie abed, refuse to get up, laugh and talk to herself and appear to be secretly amused at something.

The *Ingumbane* is not directly associated with erotic gratification, but is employed in a sadistic manner. It is given to the *Tikoloshe*

by the witch, and he in turn takes it to the person to be bitten, so that the *Ingumbane* is really a destructive implement of witchcraft.

The *Ugaty*a (charmed snake), is the popular snake, and is supposed to be harboured in the vagina of the woman. It is said to leave and roam about in the manner snakes do, but will always return to the woman to whom it is attached by her desires. This implies that it is the psychological condition of the woman which makes such an association possible. Such women are said to obtain greater gratification from the *Ugaty*a than normal coitus can provide.

A married woman who possesses an *Ugaty*a will get rid of the snake first each time she cohabits with her husband. Hence a woman who leaves the hut to go outside just before intercourse is believed to be in possession of the *Ugaty*a and such conduct brings her under the grave suspicion of being associated with witchcraft. Men are known to have acquired a disease of the penis, conforming to venereal disease, as a result of having been bitten by these snakes.

An educated female native schizophrenic patient, speaking good English and belonging to the Christian faith, described her incipient psychotic experiences verbatim as follows :

"I gradually began to feel that other women were after my husband. I then heard the voices of my ancestors telling me that I must give myself to another man who was a friend of our family. I was puzzled at this, since my ancestors will not tell me to do anything wrong. Again they spoke to me and told me to go to the "River" for medicines which would make me a great and wise *isanuse*. They said the River People wanted me, but I did not go. They also told me to collect herbs on the mountains, as I was becoming *ukutwasa*. I listened carefully, and then I knew that they were not the voices of my ancestors, but that it was the voice of my mother-in-law, impersonating and imitating them. My mother-in-law was dead, but I saw her every day in broad daylight, and I told the others what I had seen and they agreed I was probably *ukutwasa*. I did not consult the *isanuse*, because, since I am a Christian, I must not believe in native medicines. These voices tormented me for a long time, during which I fought against them, and would not give in. One night, my baby was very restless and I could not get the child to sleep. Suddenly I looked up and saw an angel standing next to me. The angel pointed behind my baby and when I looked there, I saw the *Inyoka* lying there. The angel showed me how to wave my hand. I did so and the *Inyoka* disappeared, and my child went to sleep. The angel then pointed underneath the table, and there was the *Tikoloshe* and my mother-in-law. Again I waved my hand, as the angel showed them to me, and they also vanished. But after that, I continued to see them and hear their voices, and it did not matter whether I wanted to or not. On account of this,

I was brought here ; just as if a Mental Hospital could do anything to these things ! The other day, I became very excited and jumped about. The native nurse told me to be quiet, but how could I when I distinctly felt the *Inyoka* in my vagina ? I still have it and I dream about it at nights."

This illustrates how the veneer of education and European culture became disrupted by the repressed dynamic qualities of the beliefs from the unconscious. The dynamic qualities which she denied consciously were nevertheless active in her mental integration. She claims that her mother-in-law and she were very fond of each other. The mother-in-law's appearance in the psychotic experience may be a substitute for the real mother, in view of the regression of the mind to the Oedipus level, and thus became associated with sexual symbols belonging to latent homosexuality.

The patient's conscience, or superego, was projected in the form of an angel, and so the ancestors were replaced by the Angel of Christianity and the latter became the guarding and protective influence instead of the ancestral spirits. The forbidden sexual impulses were paraded in hallucinatory experience as the *Inyoka* and *Tikoloshe*.

When visited by her husband, this patient refuses to see him, and when she speaks to him she upbraids and scolds him for being a cruel and evil man. The husband is linked in her mind with her own father, against whom she has some grievance, and this grievance she vents on the husband as if he has done her some injury. The *Inyoka* in her vagina is a compensation for a phallus she has lost, and the husband comes into the picture as the person held responsible for this loss. The homosexual attitude towards her mother-in-law is projected and the mother-in-law now brings her the *Tikoloshe* and *Inyoka* as symbolic of unconscious sexual impulses. At one time the mother-in-law and the angel were in conflict, but now the angel hardly ever appears, and the mother-in-law and her associates seem to have conquered. Even the call to the *Abantubomlambo* bore evidence of the erotic interest in her own mother which, during the psychosis, became displaced on to the mother substitute.

The *Inyoka* in the vagina is indeed common in the delusional content of schizophrenic minds. A persecutory tinge at times accompanies this evidence in that someone else is held responsible for giving the snake to the patient, but rarely (if ever) is any antipathy expressed towards the snake itself.

Patients will describe that they experience sexual relations in their

dreams and that they think the *Inyoka* is responsible, especially the *Ugatyá*. An interesting feature of these delusions is the selectivity employed by the patients. It is rare to find a patient claiming more than one of these creatures. She will vehemently deny having anything to do with the *Impundulu* or *Tikoloshe* but claim the *Inyoka*. Others, again, may favour the *Tikoloshe* and not the *Inyoka*.

One native male consumptive patient had a hæmoptysis and said, "There ! I told you I was kicked by the *Impundulu* and you would not believe me.

Two patients, who claimed to have the *Inyoka*, gave interesting reasons for their gluttonous appetites. They claimed they were required to eat a great deal to provide nourishment for the snake. This shows an interesting confusion between the phallic symbol and a pregnancy ; both, no doubt, can be included in the desire for a phallus, now provided by the wish-fulfilment of the delusion.

It is evident that the description of symptoms so consistently given in many parts of the Transkei, especially by the old wives of the tribe, about the *Inyoka*, *Tikoloshe* and *Impundulu*, is but a description of auto-eroticism. Perhaps more so has it reference to the auto-erotic phases of schizophrenia. Masturbation or its equivalent is undoubtedly rationalized as cohabiting with a snake or having a snake in the vagina. Similarly are erotic phantasies manifested in dream contents, as sexual relations with *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka*. Conditions of sexual perversions, sterility and frigidity are attributed to the *Inyoka* or *Tikoloshe*.

It is of interest to psychiatry to view these object lessons in a primitive culture, illustrating some psycho-analytic conceptions of libido development. The existence of the *Inyoka*, *Tikoloshe* and *Impundulu* in this culture of dominant, aggressive masculinity, can only be conceived as compensatory reactions for penis envy. This penis envy, as the result of castration fears and the relative inferiority of the female, in a culture where sex means so much, has led to phantastic compensations, rationalized, projected and transformed into the sexual activities of these strange mythical creatures.

One observes in the particular belief concerning the *Inyoka*, a regressive mental phenomenon, an identification with both components of the Oedipus complex. The person becomes, as it were, a stage on which the sexual relations between the parents are enacted. She thus enjoys the relations between the parents, at the same time participating in the act herself and being in possession of the symbol—

snake—phallus, which denotes the powerful male : indeed a plurality of components, condensed and rationalized into the myth of the snake.

The female in possession of the *Inyoka* has endowed herself with a symbolic male organ, portraying the homosexual component of her sexuality. She is psychologically a hermaphrodite, and fulfils the sexual functions of both male and female. Her sadism is directed towards the favoured male, in an attempt to castrate or injure his highly-prized sexual organs; and, in consequence, this sadism is transformed into the *Ingumbane*, which bites the penis of the male and causes a disease, thereby eliminating the male penis as a rival. The *Ingumbane* is also reputed to cause other diseases around the anal and genital regions.

The almost compulsive desire for the *Inyoka* shows the pregenital phase of libido development, as if the person wishes to incorporate the penis. It further shows a constitutional defect in the development of such a personality ; a defect which facilitates the utilization of a myth, which, in turn, expresses the defective organization of the sexual impulse. This constitutional defect is shown in the difference between entertaining a belief in these mythical creatures, and the adoption of them as actual providers of sexual gratification. The experiential actuality of their manifestations came into existence as result of the interpretations and expressions of abnormal or psychotic individuals. To appreciate this, one must comprehend the native's conception of mental disorder. To his way of thinking, the causes are all exogenous, and this exogeny comprises *ukutwasa*, the manifestation of mediumistic powers, or the possession of the individual by some evil influence. Hence, when a person claims to possess, or cohabit with the *Inyoka*, *Tikoloshe* or *Impundulu*, the person is considered to be a witch or someone whose behaviour is the result of the influence of these creatures ; whereas, in reality, these creatures, when they appear in the mental content of the person as actually gratifying the desires of the person, are the effects, facilitated by the constitutional defect, and are expressed as regressive phenomena in the form of delusional ideas.

Due to the similarity between the ideas expressed as reality by the psychotic and the traditional beliefs of the people, they do not form the same conception of irrationality as we do. In consequence, what is considered as effects in our conception of mental disorder, is considered as causative in their conception. The handing over of

the *Inyoka* from mother to daughter, almost as a form of inheritance of property, is merely a symbolic representation of a well-known psychopathological condition. This symbolic representation is understood by psychopathology, because of the universal similarity in the psychobiological experiences of people during the stage of dependency on their parents, as well as the early experience of erotic sensations. Under circumstances in this folk-lore, in which the mother hands over the *Inyoka* to her daughter, the handing over of this symbol portrays a mother-daughter fixation, as well as a homosexual attachment between them. By handing the daughter the snake, the mother convinces the daughter that she is not castrated; or better, gives back something believed to have been previously taken away. This infantile conception of sexual organs and their functions invades the forbidden fold of the incest taboo, for by sharing the *Inyoka* the mother and daughter share the same phallus.

It will be remembered that, during the confessions of the mother whose daughter's child would not take the breast, a crucial point in the enumeration of her sexual sins was adultery with her brother, which illustrated that incest is associated with the possession of those mythical creatures. It seems sound doctrine to ascribe to the basis of these beliefs, female inferiority as a result of penis envy.

A study of the *Abakweta* ceremony will show evidence of the importance of the penis in this ceremony, coupled with the aggressive male sexual aims, as well as its exhibitionistic dress in the shape of the ornamented *isidla*. Nor must one lose sight of the dress of men and women in the kraals, where the ornamentation and decoration of both sexes by fineries and jewellery, are similar. Men wear ear-rings, bangles, necklaces, armlets and anklets and display the dress of the sexual organs, whereas the women wear skirts and are frequently not so lavishly ornamented as the males. However submissively the woman may consciously accept the dictates of patriarchal law and custom, she cannot fail to draw comparisons between the functions and powers of the two sexes, so that what may be considered as infantile inferiorities of the female are perpetuated into adulthood by those conditions necessary for the maintenance of such a culture. Resultingly, the difference she observes in the comparison of herself sexually to the favoured phallic male leads to the creation of sexual symbols, transformed into mythical living objects. Although consciously she appears happy and submissive, unconsciously the folk-lore shows her rebellion.

The elders maintain that the *Inyoka*, *Tikoloshe* and *Impundulu* will only go to women if there is some desire for them in their hearts, and since they are creatures of evil they can associate only with those who are diffident about accepting tribal traditions and customs. According to this accepted view the woman must be in a receptive state; that is, she must be psychologically prepared by her own inner desires before these creatures can manifest their realities to her other than in mere belief in their existence.

One may well ask: what is the intensity and degree of repression under such circumstances, since erotic feelings and experiences are universal and since, in this culture, there is a definite machinery for the expression of erotic desires? Is there a rigid repression exercised over erotic phantasies which are understood to be the activities of mythical beings? As far as these investigations could elicit information, it appears that the repression is superficial, for women when gossiping, frequently describe their erotic sexual dreams to each other. Especially is this so in the case of dreams about the *Tikoloshe*. (Of course this is not revealed to their men-folk.) They have formed some sort of compromise with their sexual phantasies, which indicates that as long as they do not desire the *Tikoloshe* or *Inyoka* in the waking state, and as long as they find pleasure in sexual relations with men, they cannot be accused of desiring to possess these creatures, and are thus not guilty of violating tribal morals.

It is, of course, understood that their dreams are not viewed as mere phantastic thoughts, and hence not worthy of consideration. The descriptions of dreams given by normal native women indicate that the dream material contains reality functions for them, for those self-same women have mentioned the presence of increased vaginal secretions on awakening; although they do not actually admit that the *Tikoloshe* had intercourse with them, they give this evidence as supporting the reality of the experience.

So we see that the repression largely concerns hiding these experiences from their men-folk, just as in our culture, the wives are not likely to inform their husbands about their erotic sexual dreams concerning other men. When they do talk about a flirtation dream, they rather relate it under the guise of being so amusingly ridiculous that they cannot be held responsible for it. The native women take up the same attitude towards the *Tikoloshe* in their sexual talk among themselves, with this exception, that whereas the European woman may be conscious that the dream portrayed her own desires, the

native woman blames it all on the mischievous *Tikoloshe*, and his dream actions are viewed as amusing escapades or mischievous sexual tricks. Even the schizophrenic patients put a similar construction on some of the *Tikoloshe's* nocturnal activities.

In view of the superficiality of repression, psychoneuroses, as understood by us, must be rare. Medical men, with large native practices, claim that they are indeed rare, especially the compulsive obsessional neuroses and anxiety states. The transformation of the patient's forbidden desires into the projection system of mythical figures, may prevent the production and refinement of unconscious factors as seen in a European psychoneurotic. Hypochondriacal narcissistic states are quite common; all disturbances in the psychomotor sphere are attributed to stomach-ache, headache and bodily pains. In fact, recovered mental cases, with insight, describe the onset of their mental illnesses as stomach-ache, headache and bodily pains, as do all psychotics. This indicates the ever-receptive mind to ideas of poisoning and witchcraft. It has almost become a conditioned pattern for formulating all symptoms, and shows the infantile narcissistic basis of the personality.

Acute hysterical attacks, resembling Charcot's Grand Hysteria, are sometimes observed, but the picture presented is typical of emotional abreaction and follows a dramatic frustration and thwarting of impulses and desires. Of course, this is attributed to some possessing power, and the abreaction is the recognized manner of working out the possessing power. This is more the recognized way of reacting to such disturbances than a spontaneous, unconscious discharge of libido in motor acts, without conscious plan or design. The fainting attacks of ladies of the Victorian era are analogous to this form of hysterical abreaction.

Another common form of abnormal behaviour, showing unfulfilled erotic desires, is for a native girl to start screaming, weeping and rolling on the ground, and then suddenly to run towards some young man and accuse him of bewitching her with love potions. Witchcraft, in this respect, illustrates its identity with forbidden or unfulfilled wishes.

Conversion hysteria is equally common among the natives, as it is among Cape Coloureds, but this psychoneurosis among natives is practically limited to Globus Hystericus, and is frequently associated with nausea. To understand this form of neurotic reaction in the native, one must have knowledge of the native's attitudes towards

his bodily ills and the recognized methods of treatment for these ills, as well as those beliefs which have conditioned these attitudes.

The native believes that the panacea for all evil or possessing powers is an emetic; and since, by means of projection, he interprets unconscious forbidden impulses as poison given in his food, or in any case incorporated into the body, his first attempt to get rid of this is by means of vomiting. Hence, forbidden impulses are interpreted as a lump, which rises in the throat, but cannot be ejected until the witch-doctor, by ritualistic, suggestive treatment and an emetic, produces the offending object, in the shape of a frog, snake or spider, and confirms the patient's suspicions as to witchcraft. The transformation by the witch-doctor of these impulses of the patient into small animals and insects almost classes these small creatures as symbolic of repressed unconscious desires. The view has been advanced by some medical psychologists that insects and small animals creating fear reactions in hallucinatory states and dreams, are symbolic of forbidden sexual impulses. There seems to be some connection between this theory and the offending objects selected by the witch-doctor.

A common cause of *Globus Hystericus* consists in love potions or medicines which the patient believes have been administered to her. A native girl in the kraals described an attack of clinically typical *Globus Hystericus*, from which she suffered until cured by emetics. Some man is reputed to have put some of his urine into her coffee, which created a strong desire in her to give herself to him sexually. In struggling against this desire, it occurred to her that he brought her a mug of coffee from another hut. She then suspected what he had done, and immediately thereafter a lump came up in her throat and nearly choked her. The native doctor gave her medicine, and she vomited up a yellowish fluid, showing plainly the presence of urine, and she no longer experienced the desire to run after this man. The case not only illustrates the infantile idea of incorporating everything into the body by means of the mouth, but shows equally how readily forbidden sexual desires are transformed into poisons or other evil influences. Sympathetic magic finds a close connection between urine and penis; in fact, the urine has all the sensation qualities of the penis. Hence in incorporating or swallowing the urine, as a love potion, she really swallowed the penis and thus is presented another instance of satisfying the penis envy.

That penis envy is manifested in the behaviour of psychotics,

other than by means of *Inyoka*, *Tikoloshe* or *Impundulu* is shown by female native patients standing up and pulling the labia apart and then urinating in a stream like a man, or carrying out the same procedure while lying on their backs. Again, they have been observed rolling up their dresses into pyramids and holding them projectingly in front of them, carrying out copulative dance movements towards other patients. Nowhere in the dances of Tembu and Fingo could evidence be found to support such an attitude during a dance. The dances observed give indication of sexual movements, but never of a woman pretending to have a penis. The young men frequently imitate their father's bull by movements of the arms and head, while the girls do a shimmy dance with vibratory movements of abdomen, buttocks and thighs, which at times show spasmodic semi-copulative movements; but nowhere could an attitude during the dance be found similar to that performed by some psychotic patients. The symbolic penis dance and the manner of urinating only occur in patients during acute psychotic phases, with much excitement. This suggests that sudden regressive phases bring into activity the old penis envy, and reactivate in the unconscious that hermaphroditic phase of infantile sexuality.

In this culture it is seldom (if ever) that a girl marries the man she is in love with. The choice, as to whom she should marry, is left in the hands of her elders, and this choice is dependent on the status of the family into which she will marry, as well as the size of the *lobola*; and last, but not least, the perpetuation of the male line of ancestry often necessitates her marrying a cousin, in order to re-establish the kraal. (In native culture, a kraal must never die out.) Hence, the *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka* are her compensations in rivalling male dominance and superiority. They provide her with gratification, independent of the male. The existence of these gratifying factors in their folk-lore makes the men cognizant that they are not the only means of providing sexual gratification; in fact, they have to compete, as it were, with these mythical beings of folk-lore.

The *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka*, therefore, are necessary components of such a culture, as unconscious balancing forces. Their existence raises the sexual value of the woman and makes her more desirable. It is possible that their original creation took place in a feminine mind.

Resistance to male sexual overtures is considered the correct

form of conduct, but is indulged in more in the nature of a game, somewhat after the manner of pursuit and flight among the birds. Women are known to make sexual overtures to men. Here again, they have a sort of ritual to indicate their desires. As a rule, the woman or girl surreptitiously takes something belonging to the man, and hides it in her clothes, usually between her breasts, if they are covered. The man, pretending to be in earnest, gives chase and tries to recover his property, while she coyly evades him until they are alone.

The form of pseudosexual intercourse which the men are allowed to perform with women is also a factor of enhancing the woman's sexual value. Forms of overt homosexual behaviour between women are described by female *isanuses*, but a similar condition among men is entirely unknown in the kraals. (By this is meant overt homosexual attachments between men, to the exclusion of women.) Latent homosexuality does exist, as will be seen from the study of hospital material.

Again, the homosexual components in the woman's personality may be satisfied and compensated for by the utilization of the mythical creatures. Perverse homosexual activities in women are frequently ascribed to witches or to persons becoming *ukutwasa*. The *ukutwasa* is the period of psychic abnormality which a person must experience before the full development of mediumistic powers. To become an *isanuse*, one must pass through a period of abnormality. A girl, whom I personally examined during a period of *ukutwasa*, revealed no evidence of psychosis, but rather a phase of heightened emotional sensitivity and instability.

Solomon Daba claims that there is a great difference between *ukutwasa* and a psychosis. He asserts that *isanuses* can draw this distinction, but the people have not the knowledge to do so. Hence they attribute any psychic disturbance, or loss of senses, to *ukutwasa*. We can understand this quite well, if we view it in the light of our own experience in European medical practice. Where our patients prefer to cover their ailments under the term "nervous breakdown" rather than "mental conflict", the natives similarly prefer the honourable *ukutwasa* to a loss of senses due to evil influences. In fact, most native patients ascribe the onset of their psychoses to *ukutwasa*, especially in schizophrenia, where the hallucinatory experiences are reputed to be the voices of deceased ancestors.

It also serves as a grandiose element in the delusional setting.

Hence incipient psychotics are prone to be preoccupied with the search for magic medicines in the mountains. The magic powers with which belief endowed the *isanuse* is very closely related to the omnipotent state of mind common to the psychotic; besides, the *isanuse's* profession is one greatly admired by the people, resulting in a host of charlatans, professing to have supernormal psychic powers. It is, therefore, not surprising to find periods of *ukutwasa* in the pre-admission history of a patient, as well as generations of witch-doctors in a family heavily tainted with schizophrenia. It must not be accepted that *isanuses* are psychotics, or psychopaths, but it implies that psychotics frequently claim to be *isanuses* or witch-doctors.

This state of *ukutwasa* is of value to psychiatrists. Inquiries as to the age or time when the patient was first *ukutwasa* frequently brings to light a psychotic history of many years' duration, before admission to the Mental Hospital. In these so-called *ukutwasas* will be found early communications from *Izinyanya* (ancestors), as well as associations with the *Impundulu*, *Tikoloshe* and *Inyoka*, which are not supposed to occur in a genuine *ukutwasa*.

THE MAMLAMBO

This creature must have come into existence as a reaction by the male against the many mysterious sexual partners of the female, or as fulfilling the infantile Oedipal wishes and fixations of the male. She is reputed to be a woman of great beauty and sexual attractiveness, and possesses the power to change herself into animals, insects and medicines.

A man who is the partner of a *Mamlambo* rarely cares for women, although some have been known to marry. He who has an intrigue with the *Mamlambo* is usually lucky and wealthy; his crops are always good, and his cattle of the best. Yet, the *Mamlambo* demands a sacrifice before she bestows her favours on a man, and this penalty or sacrifice takes the form of someone dying in his family. The member of the family selected by the *Mamlambo* to die is usually the father, or, in case he is deceased, the eldest brother.

Several features of this myth are of interest to psychopathology. Before she gives herself to the lover, his father (or father substitute) must die. She herself appears to be symbolic of the mother, in the Oedipus situation. Her demands can be interpreted as a projection and personification of the death wishes of the son, directed against

his father as the rival to his love for his mother. The wealth, assets and luck he attains as a result of this death and intrigue with the *Mamlambo* may be symbolic of the security, erotic pleasure and intimacy which the mother can provide if he is again restored to the early infantile attachments to her. There is some intuitive or implicit appreciation of this Oedipus situation in native culture, for the *Abakweta* ceremony clearly shows a ritualistic means of solving the Oedipus complex, as does the *Intonjane*.

The *Mamlambo* is also symbolic of egotism and selfishness and it shows that these traits of narcissistic characters can only function at the expense of someone else. It is equally, in the native's conception, symbolic of Western civilization's idea of the worship of Mammon.

To the native mind the primary function of the *Mamlambo* is not only the provision of a form of female companionship which no ordinary woman can equal, but is also a method of describing certain eccentric characters, and such characters can perhaps be better understood as persons with mother fixations. Male schizophrenic patients sometimes describe how the *Mamlambo* came and slept with them during the period of *ukutwasa*.

All these mythical creatures serve as compensations in persons with defective libido development, which came into existence as wish-fulfilment at the time of dissolution of the Oedipus complex. The *Mamlambo* plays the rôle of the ideal woman to the male, and the *Tikoloshe*, the *Impundulu* and the *Inyoka* compensate for the penis envy in the female.

Karl Abraham defined two types of reactions to penis envy, "a wish-fulfilling" and "a vindictive" type. The wish-fulfilling type comprises the *Tikoloshe* and *Ugatyá* and the vindictive type the *Ingumbane* and the *Impundulu*. In the native mind, there is no basis for doubting the reality of these mythical creatures, because they are essentials of traditional accepted belief, embodying the consensus of opinion of the people, having thereby traditional reality as well as custom's approval of this reality.

CHAPTER III

NATIVE DOCTORS, DIVINERS AND SORCERERS

THE practice of the art of medicine in native culture is indeed a popular profession and a host of healers are found, falling into several categories or subdivisions according to the nature of the form of healing employed and the methods of diagnoses. The European classifies all native doctors under the generic term "witch-doctor", which gives the impression that they all indulge in the practice of witchcraft and that their powers and abilities are more or less of the same nature. This confused conception of the functions of native doctors does not give us a clear understanding about the native's beliefs in witchcraft, nor does it assist us in distinguishing the honest from the dishonest, for even in their culture they have charlatans and quacks in the practice of the art of healing. It is only after we have placed them broadly in their various categories that we are able to understand the rôle they play in this culture and that we are able to appreciate those who are reputed to perform evil functions of witchcraft and those whose duty it is to combat these evil influences.

Apart from the *ama-tola* or war priests, who do not exist any more, there are still to be found the *awe-mvula* or rain-makers, but these do not enter into the profession of healing the sick, although they have a place in the setting of mythological beliefs. The various grades of native doctors existing to-day can be adequately classified as follows :

1. *Amatola* or *Isanuses* : Diviners.
2. *Amaggira* (Singular—*Iggira*) : Doctors, also employing divination.
3. *Amaxhwele* (Singular—*Ixhwele*) : Herbalists who are reputed to practise sorcery.

The *isanuses* stand at the head of this profession and are the consultants to the *amaggira*. When an *iggira* is faced with a difficult case he calls in an *isanuse*. The *amaxhwele* also consult the *isanuse* who diagnoses the case and the herbalist prescribes the medicines.



THE ISANUSE XAGALEGUSHA
With his wife and assistant

Photo by Author

The *isanuse* prescribes medicines, but he does not himself dig them out nor carry them about with him. He diagnoses by means of supernatural aids. He receives communications clairvoyantly or telepathically, according to his descriptions, from the *onomathotholo* or guardian spirits and these inform him what is the matter with the patient. He does not usually employ hand-clapping and singing (*ukwombelela*) or séance conditions, unless he is called out in consultation by an *igqira* at another kraal. The *isanuses* thus form the specialist group of this profession and their healing is mostly done by psychic means and the performance of certain rituals. They conform to what are known by us as mediums.

As a class of practitioners, they are extremely rare. I have usually found the *isanuse*, if there is one in the district, at or near the chief's kraal. Their fewness in number is in direct contrast to the hosts of *amagqira*, and the *amagqira* again are less in numbers than the *amaxhwele*. The latter group swarms the native territories. The *amagqira* are again divided into two classes according to the sexes. The male is called *nobumba* and the female *igqira* is known as *nxukazana*. The *amagqira* claim that they must go through a period of *ukutwasa* for the development of their psychic powers, but the *isanuse* Xagalalegusha, at the Tembu chief Gwebityale Mtirara's kraal, informs me that there is a great deal of confusion in the minds of the people as to what is really *ukutwasa*. He claims that true *ukutwasa* states are rare and that many so-called *ukutwasa* conditions are loss of senses, which may be due to witchcraft or mild *ukutwasa* states not properly treated or treated by the *amaxhwele*, which later develop into loss of senses. He asserts with some feeling that those of the *amagqira* or *amaxhwele* who claim to have been *ukutwasa* have not been through a proper *ukutwasa* phase, but may have suffered from some other condition since the people are prone to describe all conditions affecting the senses as *ukutwasa*. This statement by the old and likeable *isanuse* Xagalalegusha is of great importance when we consider the many psychiatric conditions known in native culture as *ukutwasa*.

I have been especially impressed by the honesty of the *isanuses* in their descriptions of the extent of their psychic abilities. They do not claim any powers of magic and modestly admit they can only see and tell in so far as their minds are opened to the influence of the *onomathotholo*. This is significant when a comparison is drawn between the claims of the *isanuses* and the extravagant claims of the *amagqira* and *amaxhwele*. The *isanuse's* contentions are far more rational than

those of the two groups *amaggira* and *amaxhwele*. For instance, the smelling-out ceremonies and the removal of objects of sorcery by sucking them out of the patient's body belong entirely to the functions of the *amaggira* or *amaxhwele*, but only *isanuses* can officiate at the recalling of someone from the *Abantubomlambo*.

The *amaxhwele* are the quacks of this profession and they frequently claim and diagnose *ukutwasa* conditions. They also have the various evil medicines, medicines by means of which they can bewitch people, give love charms, lure girls away from their kraals, make them concubines, force them to break tribal traditions, operate in league with the *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka* and have the power to seduce wives. They obtain this power by consorting and working with evil influences of witchcraft and magic. They are despised by the councillors, elders and by the *isanuses*.

The line between the *amaggira* and *amaxhwele* is not quite distinct ; in fact personal experience with many belonging to these two divisions has clearly shown that they overlap considerably and that, although the *amaggira* claim to combat the evil functions of the *amaxhwele*, the *amaxhwele* are essential for the existence of the *amaggira*. The claims of both classes are equally phantastic and encourage and thrive on the mythological beliefs of the people. Both the *amaggira* and *amaxhwele* claim that at some time or other in their lives they were given the secrets of medicines, were called to the river or mountains and were *ukutwasa*.

The *isanuse*, *iggira* and *ixhwele* all maintain that *ukutwasa* can be hereditary and, if not properly treated at its first manifestation, may lead to loss of senses. The *amaggira* and *amaxhwele* point out that *ukutwasa* states appear in many family histories and over many generations. They admit that many of these people have lost their senses, but maintain it has been due to wrong treatment or no treatment at all. The *isanuses* and *amaggira* equally assert that the capacity for the development of psychic powers, manifested in its incipiency as *ukutwasa*, is inborn and cannot be developed by any form of training if the gift is not possessed by the person, and they further state that the children of an *isanuse* or *iggira* do not necessarily inherit this capacity of mind, because in reality people possessing these psychic powers are extremely rare, notwithstanding the fact that many people claim to have developed such abilities of mind. They contend that such people who claim to have this rare gift of divination, are those consorting with evil, such as the *amaxhwele*. We can conclude from

these statements that both the *isanuses* and the *amaggira*, comprising the *nobumba* and *amaxukazana*, possess mediumistic powers, but that the *isanuses* are of greater development and that they do not indulge in the many other practices common to the *amaggira* and the *amaxhwele*.

It is common in South Africa to hear and read of many instances in which witch-doctors have instigated or have been responsible for human sacrifices, especially of children, or where they were concerned in murders in which some mutilation of the victim or corpse took place, such as the removal of the testicles or the nose, or the digging up of graves and removing some of the bones. A medical colleague, who has investigated four murders in which the victims' noses were removed, considered that this was done to prevent detection or apprehension, since by means of the law of sympathetic magic, smelling out or detection of a criminal falls within the same category. Thus, by removing the victim's nose, the murderers may escape apprehension. There is something missing in this form of reasoning, namely, that the victim is dead and therefore cannot do the smelling out himself; again by merely removing the nose they are not removing the sense of smell of the police, for smelling out does not literally mean what the European reads into the native's conception. I therefore consulted Xagalalegusha and several of the *amaggira* on this subject of mutilating the corpse of the victim. They all agree that in the first place these murders or human sacrifices are abhorrent to *isanuses* and *amaggira* and can only possibly be committed by doctors who are under the influence of witchcraft, such as the *amaxhwele*, and that these mutilations are done for the purpose of making certain medicines. For instance, the part removed from the body of the victim is added to a concoction with which they wash their bodies and the *amaxhwele* believe that the medicine will cause the murderers to become invisible to the police or pursuers. The *isanuse* informs me that these parts which are removed from the corpse are usually taken to the *amaxhwele* for the preparation of such medicines and that the testicles are commonly used because, being the seat of virility, it will add to the potency of the medicine. The addition of a part of the victim's body to the medicines means that the murderers become invisible to the people who are concerned with the apprehension of the perpetrators of the crime, and is intended to bring about the invisibility of the murderers to the persons interested in the victim, thereby removing the possibilities of detection and apprehension. Therefore, the mere removal of the nose does not in itself lead

to invisibility, but its addition as an ingredient to the medicine links this invisibility with the victim and others concerned in apprehending the criminals.

In a recent murder of a European committed by three detribalized natives who lived in town locations, the nose of the victim was removed. During the trial and while at the prison to investigate the mental condition of a native charged with rape, I had a few words with the three prisoners. It appeared in evidence at the preparatory examination that one of the natives called Jakob was a witch-doctor, and it was alleged that he was responsible for most of the horror of the crime. I questioned Jakob through the door of his cell and merely asked him what category of witch-doctor he belonged to and whether he was ever *ukutwasa*. He replied that he was an *ixhwele* (herbalist) and that he was never *ukutwasa* but his father was *ukutwasa*, heard voices and was called to the hills to dig medicines. I left it at that, since I had no official instructions to examine the prisoners. I cannot help feeling that a psychiatric examination would have been of scientific value to forensic psychiatry, in view of the evidence I obtained in the study of the family histories of native mental patients, as outlined later on in this book. I am not prepared to limit the practice of so-called witchcraft only to the *amaxhwele* and entirely exclude the *amaggira*, for I have come across many rascals among the latter, who lead an equally parasitic existence on the mythological beliefs of the people. Nevertheless, the *amaxhwele* are more predominant in the family histories of the psychotic patients than the *amaggira*.

There is equally no doubt that the *isanuses* are not the only possessors of those psychic powers known as mediumistic abilities, with this exception, that their claims are less extravagant than those of the *amaggira*. One *iggira*, Solomon Daba, whose psychic powers I investigated over a long period and on many occasions, to my mind provides evidence of mediumistic abilities.

NATIVE SÉANCES

I have been fortunate in having the opportunity of attending many séances given by Solomon Daba and his wife. Although Solomon Daba does not always depend on dancing, singing and clapping of hands (*ukwombelela*), for the manifestation of his psychic powers, this is the usual procedure when he desires important informa-



Photo by Author

AMAGQIRA
Solomon Daba and wife (note air-gun)

tion to be revealed, and such *ukwombelelas* are interesting and spectacular affairs. For almost an hour prior to the actual commencement of the séance, and while Solomon and I are still discussing intricacies of the practice of witchcraft, singing, clapping of hands and tom-tom, drum-like sounds can be heard coming from one of the huts in his kraal.

At first my presence at a séance of this nature caused a great deal of amusement, as well as some puzzled enquiries for the reasons of my being present. But gradually, as they came to know me, their suspicions were allayed and they entered whole-heartedly into the matter, to convince me that Solomon Daba had powers of divination.

An actual séance scene is as follows. Seated on the floor in a semi-circle behind the door are about ten women, each with a short stick in her hand. Between them on the floor is a hard dried-up cow-skin, in the shape of a roll of linoleum. Behind and around these drummers sit other women who join in the clapping of hands and the singing. The drummers beat the cow-skin with their short sticks in unison with the singing and clapping of hands. These rhythmic beats are maintained while they sing, "Come ancestors and make things clear to us!" There is something weird and fascinating in this ceremony. They say the singing and clapping of hands are necessary in order to create the power required by the ancestors before they can reveal these hidden things to Solomon Daba.

After a while, Solomon Daba and his wife, who is a *nxukazana*, appear and straight away plunge into a dance. Round their ankles they wear little leather bags filled with seeds and these produce sounds somewhat similar to a person doing tap-dancing on a floor strewn with sand. Solomon Daba, who is a magnificent dancer, shows alternate contraction and relaxation of groups of muscles, keeping time during these muscular movements with the singing, clapping of hands and the beating of the cow-skin, while his wife performs graceful prancing movements symbolic of a species of antelope before a fight. At times there are other *amaggira* present who join in the dance and with all this the dance becomes more and more vigorous, perspiration rolls down their brown bodies, while the beating of the skin, the clapping of hands and the plaintive singing swell louder and louder. Suddenly Daba stops and addresses the gathering. He has heard or seen something. He may give some information about lost, stolen or strayed cattle or a test arranged by me. If he is correct in his answers everyone cheers and the dance continues more vigorously

than ever. From time to time he pauses and reveals information to someone in the audience or exhorts them to sing louder as the spirits of his ancestors or the *onomathotholo* require more power before they can reveal these things to him. His deep voice booms "*Siyavuma!*" and they all answer, "*Siyavuma!*" (We agree.)

During one of these séances a woman, seated among those beating the cow-skin, suddenly uttered a cry, swayed from side to side and started to fall over those seated on the side of the hut. She moaned and performed convulsive movements until controlled by Solomon and his wife. They each took her by an arm, wiped her face with a white foamy medicine which is prepared by the rotary movement of a forked stick, the stem of which is held between the palms while they are being rubbed together. This froth or foam was smeared all over her face and head. After this, she continued to dance, a mixture of hysterical convulsive movements, swaying her arms and kicking her legs about, and then sagged down into a condition resembling a cataleptic trance. She was taken outside the hut and when she came round she denied all knowledge of what had taken place. Solomon Daba then explained that this woman was *ukutwasa* and that he was training her psychic powers, and that these convulsive episodes were signs that she was becoming mediumistic, for she was already beginning to see visions. He explained further that the *ukutwasa* period is marked by aches and pains, loss of weight, bad dreams and a state of nervousness and excitability when the person is extremely sensitive to the emotions of others.

Similar conditions are known to occur among Europeans who later on develop mediumship, but in the native culture there are so many embellishments of a mystic and phantastic nature, based on traditional superstitious influences, that a most elaborate and irrational system is developed in the training of the neophyte.

If the behaviour of the person is broadly similar to what tradition claims to be *ukutwasa*, then the claims of the person are accepted as genuine and, as far as I can discover, no tests are applied to distinguish between subjective wishes or hallucinations and real conditions of mediumship. It is to be understood that in such a setting hallucinatory influences and the belief in communication with mythological beings colour and confuse the issue and a psychotic manifestation supported by auditory hallucinations may easily be mistaken for an *ukutwasa* phase. In fact, careful investigation of some so-called *ukutwasa* conditions that were classically schizophrenia, have convinced me

that this is the rule. This corroborates the statements of the *isanuses* that genuine *ukutwasa* is rare. I had no further opportunity of testing this neophyte under Solomon Daba's training, but I am told that she has turned out quite an efficient *nxukazana* and has correctly located stolen cattle on several occasions.

The *isanuses* and *amaggira* inform me that the *onomathotholo* and ancestral spirits usually give information only about the past. Something must have happened first, unless it is imperative that they give a warning or foreboding about some coming catastrophe or danger. It is not their custom to give information about the future. It appears that their best information concerns those things they were interested in during life and these usually fall under wrongs done to people, thefts, things buried, stolen and strayed cattle.

The native territories abound with stories concerning the mysterious powers of *isanuses* and *amaggira* in locating stolen and strayed cattle. Many a European farmer believes firmly in their ability to trace and locate stolen animals or other property. Magistrates of thirty years' experience in native territories feel convinced of the genuineness of the claims of *isanuses* and some *amaggira* and they maintain that these people have some supernormal ability for ascertaining such happenings. Many other apparently convincing instances were laid before me by reliable and responsible Europeans in support of the statements made by officials who have investigated some of these happenings.

The majority of police officers stationed in the native territories judge all practitioners of native medicine as witch-doctors, frauds, thieves and charlatans and consider that they have a secret system by means of which, and also by runners, they are kept informed of the movements of the stolen cattle and the identities of the thieves. Such an explanation suffers from two defects. In the first place, the police include under the generic term "witch-doctor", the *isanuses*, *amaggira* and *amaxhwele*, and careful sifting of the evidence has brought to light that their opinions are based on their experience with the *amaxhwele*. Secondly, the explanation applies to certain of these practitioners, but it does not fit all instances in which *isanuses* and *amaggira* have given correct information. It implies further that these practitioners keep a number of men employed on the off chance that European farmers or traders may come and consult them. The police seem to forget that the *iggira* is usually very astute in his business dealings and is not likely to expend money or kind in a venture of doubtful benefit.

As I have said before, the *isanuses* are few and far between and one is usually to be found near a chief's residence and is intimately associated with the chief and his councillors, and is, as a rule, held in great respect by the elders of the district. Knowing these people, it is, in my opinion, very unlikely that an *isanuse* would dare to be concerned in such schemes of stealth which will lose for him the respect and support of the chief and his councillors.

The activities of some of the *amagqira* and *amaxhwele* give the impression that a large number of them belong to psychopathic and psychotic strata of their people, as the family histories of hospital material will show, and among this class of practitioners abound the drifters and swindlers similar to those found among our own people. The *isanuses* support the police opinion that many so-called doctors are frauds, charlatans or otherwise bewitched persons, and to be classed as bewitched is to fall into a psychopathic or psychotic class, according to my psychiatric investigations. It stands to reason that a profession which gives a practitioner so much power, requires a minimum of physical labour, demands no arduous preparation and ensures a position which inspires fear, supported by the belief in witchcraft, is bound to be the popular choice of maladjusted characters, who further thrive on the primitive attitude of the native towards illnesses. To the native there is no such thing as a natural process of healing; all healing, all recoveries, all cures, are due to some particular ritual or medicine applied. Under such circumstances it must be apparent that the *amagqira* and *amaxhwele* have a fertile field for their operations. These *amaxhwele* roam from kraal to kraal, eat where they can and sleep where they can, and are usually followed by a number of pupils, wives and girls who are really just paramours. To maintain a following they must impress the people with the powers of their magic medicines and hence they enter into all sorts of phantastic schemes, largely determined by irrational mental contents.

The native has an interesting idea about herbal medicines. He believes that somewhere in the mountains or on the veld are plants or herbs with mysterious magic powers. All he requires is special knowledge or guidance and once the herb is found this power is his. Both the *amagqira* and the *amaxhwele* claim to have knowledge of these herbs, the possession of which means almost omnipotence; hence the psychotic reaction of running to the hills to look for these herbs.

I explained to Solomon Daba that I could not accept the numerous claims of supernatural powers made by himself and his followers unless

I could verify them for myself. He agreed to submit himself to any test I might wish to carry out. I therefore decided to bury an article on my next visit and test his powers for myself.

Now Solomon Daba lives about sixty miles away from Queens-town. On leaving for his kraal, I buried in the ground a little cheap purse, wrapped in brown paper. Over the spot I placed a flat brown stone and on top of this a flat grey stone. Not a soul was in sight during this operation of burying the purse, nor did I, from the first moment the idea came to my mind, divulge my intention to anyone. From the moment I bought the purse, it was not seen by anyone, nor had anyone but myself any knowledge of the nature of the article to be used for this test. I left my assistant, van der Merwe, in the car and went into the bush to bury the article. On leaving the spot, I travelled at an average speed of about thirty-five miles an hour. I mention this to obviate the possible explanation that he was informed by runners before my arrival.

Shortly after my arrival I requested a séance dance and told him I had prepared a test. During the dance, Solomon Daba described in minute detail the article, the nature of the locality in which it was buried, the brown paper in which it was wrapped as well as the colour of the stones. During the dance I never once gave any information to show that he was on the right track. It will be assumed that he was reading my mind telepathically. I have no objection to this assumption. All I wish to add is that he accomplished a remarkable feat and displayed supernormal mental abilities. This is only one of many experiments in which Solomon Daba acquitted himself very well.

A few months ago two cows were stolen, belonging to Mr. Victor, a charge nurse in the hospital. Shortly after this, I required Solomon Daba's assistance in elucidating a few points on witchcraft and due to pressure of work in the hospital I could not find time to travel 120 miles there and back. So I requested him to come and see me at my expense. On such occasions, when I foot the bill, Solomon Daba takes a childish delight in travelling in hired motor-cars. As a rule he occupies the rear seat alone and in state, with his monkey-skin head-dress. Late in the afternoon, towards the close of our lengthy discussion on witchcraft, Mr. Victor entered my office. It suddenly occurred to me that this would be an ideal opportunity to test Solomon Daba's psychic powers. I informed him that I was going to test his psychic powers and merely added that Mr. Victor

had lost some cows and asked him to describe the cows and give their present whereabouts. He said he would try, and thereupon shut his eyes and sat quite still for a while. On opening his eyes he said, "I see the cows and I know where they are and how they have been stolen," and then proceeded as follows :

"There were two cows, both black and white, and the younger of the two was going to calve ; in fact she has calved because there are three cattle now. The younger of the two cows has a peculiar mark on its left side, the hair has grown in the opposite direction in the form of a crown or whorl. There was a little white boy about six years old who was very fond of this cow. He always fed her with bits of grass and corn stalks. Late one evening the cows were driven away from the field by a native man who works in this hospital. He kept them at his house in the location that night and the following morning early he hired a native boy to drive these cows to a friend's place near Lady Frere (30 miles away). This boy left with the cows while it was still dark and drove them to the kraal near Lady Frere. He crossed the railway line this side of Essex and took a little-known track across the veld."

I, of course, could not verify his descriptions of the cows, having never seen them, but I doubted his statement about the little white boy since I was well aware Victor had no such child. As instructed, none of the members of the staff present said a word.

After Solomon Daba left, Mr. Victor corroborated his description of the cows to the minutest detail ; even the doings of the little boy turned out to be correct—this was a neighbour's child. As the matter was already in the hands of the police nothing further was done. The suspected man went off sick a few days ago and while at his home sent a native boy with a note to the ward. Mr. Victor, having in mind what Solomon Daba told him, asked this native boy whether he drove some cows for X. to Lady Frere some time ago. The boy, in my presence and that of other members of the staff and the police, admitted driving the cows and gave a description tallying in every detail with what Solomon Daba had said.

Without going into further details about this case, what are the rational conclusions ? We may assume that Solomon Daba was in league with the thieves and had closely examined the cows previously, which is highly improbable. Still, supposing this to be true, he would indeed be stupid to expose his confederates and thereby incriminate himself. Solomon lives, as I have said, about sixty miles away and rarely comes to Queenstown unless it is at my expense and on

such occasions he is miles away from where the cows are kept. He states that he did not know Mr. Victor nor was he interested in his cows until questioned by me. The other alternative, and the more convincing one, is to accept his evidence as genuine, not only in this instance, but taking into consideration those occasions when I submitted him to tests, the nature of which no one else knew but myself.

I have no doubt that these *isanuses* and *amaggira* have a form of psychic power which one may call psychic sensitivity, because the word "intuition" does not cover all its phases. This can be considered as a degree of that complex condition known as mediumship, which can be manifested at times as sensitivity to people's thoughts and emotions and on other occasions as the presentation of a mental picture to the medium of what is desired to be known.

Certain tests carried out on *amaggira* show that they can give a fairly accurate picture of what the person has in his mind, especially those ideas having strong emotional values. This psychic function is commonly employed in making their diagnoses. Under such circumstances they describe exactly what the person believes is wrong with him or has been done to him. This is well illustrated in his procedure during the "Smelling out" ceremony. Others not having such well-marked sensitive powers proceed along lines of intuitive enquiry. There are various degrees of efficiency in this respect among the *amaggira*.

These experiences with the *isanuses* and *amaggira* show the existence of some psychical unity which in certain persons, and under certain conditions, is manifested in forms of psychic activity outside the range of our everyday perceptive mechanisms. In fact I have found further evidence of this supernormal ability in the time appreciation of one hypnotic subject who is an excellent somnambule. I have carried out nearly sixty experiments with this girl in the course of five years, and on all occasions I found her to give responses with a negligible margin of error. I said "all", but there were two occasions when she had a bad cold in the head and a slightly raised temperature, and on these occasions the margin of error was greater than usual. The procedure was as follows. All clocks and watches were removed from the room. The subject was hypnotized behind a screen on a couch. At the other end of the room sat one or two interested persons who were to observe her reactions and note the responses. The last experiment was carried out in the presence of

two medical practitioners. When she was in a deep hypnotic sleep I gave the following instructions :

“ You are now going to reckon time. I shall tell you the number of minutes or seconds you are going to reckon. When I say ‘ one ’ you will start and as soon as you arrive at the end of the time period you will say ‘ one ’. Then I will say ‘ You are going to reckon the duration of five minutes ’, and so on.”

As I have said, in the course of five years I have made about sixty experiments. They have nearly all been performed in the presence of witnesses, and during such occasions I have left the checking up to them. The time periods she had to estimate ranged from thirty seconds to twenty-five minutes at a stretch, and she was never more or less than a minute out. In fact, in the twenty-five-minute period she was just a minute out. In the thirty-second period she was two seconds out, with the exception of those occasions when she ran a temperature and had a cold in the head. It was assumed that these correct responses were due to telepathy and that this function came into activity during the hypnotic phase. To test this assumption the instructions, were not given verbally, or at least the time period was not given but the subject was told that we would think the required number of minutes or seconds as the case might be and merely give her the cue when to start. Those witnessing the experiment and I then concentrated on the required time period, and I gave the signal. The responses showed that the margin of error was very much larger than with the naming of the time period. In fact, her errors were similar to those of the controls, three minutes for five minutes, ten minutes for six minutes, etc. This showed that it was not telepathic, but that some auditory sensory stimulus was necessary, at least in this particular subject.

The intention is not for one moment to assume that these time appreciation tests were of the same nature as the psychic powers of the *isanuses*, etc., but the intention is to show the existence of psychic abilities for which we can offer no adequate explanation according to our conceptions built up on physical science. And to deny their existence because we cannot advance an explanation suitable to our scientific conceptions is to be not only unscientific but irrational. It is necessary that such observations be brought to our notice, for science cannot merely content itself with the discovery of facts but it must make an attempt to correlate these findings, or at least find

the relationships between these findings ; especially is this necessary in the sphere of behaviour.

In reverting to the *isanuses* and the *amaggira*, these mental abilities can only be understood as telepathic, clairvoyant or mediumistic abilities. I am using these terms because it is commonly known what psychic functions they connote. It is not the purpose to enter into a discussion of these psychic manifestations, since there is a vast amount of literature available, the work of men who have gained eminence in science, and other responsible individuals, whose powers of observation have shown a rational approach to these supernormal psychic abilities. The reason for introducing the mediumistic powers of the *isanuses* and *amaggira* is the need for differentiating and comprehending that which can be rationally understood, in contrast to that which belongs to the irrational domain of witchcraft beliefs.

WITCHCRAFT

Among the Europeans there is much confused thinking about these mental functions displayed by the native diviners. It is assumed that because these people believe in witchcraft, the abilities displayed by them are manifestations of sorcery. Therefore the European continues to spread this confused and irrational thinking, which gives reality to such beliefs as the *Tikoloshe*, and which does not assist those who have to do with the administration of the native, in understanding him in a rational manner.

To separate this function among the *isanuses* and others which can be considered as rational from the belief in witchcraft, it is necessary to enquire, what is it that constitutes witchcraft? These mediumistic abilities have become confused with magical thought due to the primitive level on which their culture operates. The interpretation of supernormal psychic abilities is influenced, coloured and distorted by the cultural pattern and mythological beliefs. The *isanuses* and *amaggira* are not the only people who have mediumistic abilities, since these faculties of psychic activity are more prevalent and more clearly delineated among Europeans, but it is their magical and mystic rites which are performed in the execution of such powers, as well as the traditional systems of knowledge, that lead to confusion and attribute powers and abilities to them which really only exist in the minds and anticipations of the people of their culture. Because these practitioners can describe objects and occurrences not present

or affecting their physical senses, they are credited by the people's thinking and beliefs in omnipotent abilities with the power to produce action at a distance by the manipulation of some mysterious medicine or the performance of some mysterious ritual. The absence of contradictory data and knowledge defining the scope of such psychic abilities leads the people to endow the *isanuses* and *amaggira* with omnipotent powers far beyond the range of human possibilities. They reason that if they can produce supernormal abilities and functions, which fall within mediumistic activities and which have been proved correct by the tests of experience, they can equally produce supernormal acts by utilizing the powers of witchcraft. But the powers of witchcraft only become possible if those who express belief in it do so by means of infantile magical thinking. Instead of taking up our abode in a house of words and leaving it at that, it is desirable that infantile magical thinking be understood so as to comprehend the native's attitude and thinking about witchcraft.

If we keep in mind that the cultural patterns of thought of the pagan native correspond on the whole with the infantile levels of our culture, our appreciation of the dynamic qualities of his beliefs will be more readily facilitated. In children of European civilized cultures the world over, thoughts and actions are given the same connotations and they behave at a certain stage of their development as if words have powers of magic. We observe that ideas become personified and lonely children play for hours with imaginary playmates. Preparations are made for their toys at night time, indicating that the child has endowed his toys with qualities similar to his own. His thoughts and fears appear in his dreams as persons, insects, animals and other living objects and his reactions towards these show that they have reality value for him. Various inconsistencies and contradictions existing in his imaginative thinking are easily bridged by magical phantastic links. It seems as if his mind cannot leave anything without an explanation, however irrational this explanation may be. There seems to be an urge to complete the thinking and the pattern of thought or idea is frequently rounded off to the satisfaction of the person by magical embellishments. This desire or urge to understand and find an explanation and employ whatever ideas and feelings may come to mind to provide a satisfactory explanation in accordance with wishes and desires, forms the basis of infantile magical thought.

The limitations imposed on one's thinking by the boundaries

of reality do not operate in the child's mind, and there are no laws governing his interpretations and explanations in relation to reality. His universe of thought embraces the domain of unlimited possibilities and when the adult slips back into the day-dream he enters this domain of his childhood years. Gradually the child in his development learns to discriminate between phantastic possibilities and possibilities that belong to reality, but even this ability to discriminate is frequently submerged by any particular strong emotional reaction, especially the emotional reactions which result from those propensities having to do with self-preservation.

The child, in his reactions to fears and wishes, clothes these symbolically as living objects such as are portrayed in phobias and compulsions. And we observe another important component of his thinking in which thoughts stand for actions. These mechanisms of thought, common to infantile periods of life, and the native's thinking and feeling about witchcraft, are identical. The native in his setting reacts to his unconscious images and fears as does the child to his dreams, and these unconscious impulses, where they fall within the category of forbidden impulses, are transformed into living objects and viewed as mythical beings. Whether he thinks subjectively or objectively, invisible links always bridge his thoughts and experiences, for always ready at hand is his mythical system of beliefs serving as a channel for projecting his own unconscious forbidden impulses and desires. The personification of these ideas is similar in image and function, because they are conditioned by a cultural pattern which accepts them as realities. All individual problems, individual conflicts and urges, become patterned according to the images recognized and accepted by traditional systems of belief, and facilitated by the fact that traditional thought has been built up on these very materials. Once these personified images and possibilities of activities have been given a reality value through their acceptance by the social milieu, they are no longer perceived as images of thought but as living objects which, as the result of the mechanism of projection, have inherited a world of their own. But in spite of having projected his unconscious impulses, transformed them into living objects and having created a world for them to live in, the native cannot isolate himself from the activities of these creatures, for the world in which these personified symbols live is his mind, and their activities are the activities of his instincts and impulses, which crawl, walk and fly as the *Inyoka*, *Tikoloshe* and *Impundulu*.

As phantasy has no boundaries, so they have no limitations in those functions in which their interests move.

The European has his repressions, conflicts, compensations and projections in adjusting himself to the demands of society. In this process of adjustment, he displays various ritualistic practices, especially in his religious life, wherein personified idealism and images still freely abound. There are the atonements of his guilt in donations of conscience money, as well as episodes of religious exaltation to expiate his sins. Although he is reluctant to acknowledge it, personified evil plays a profound rôle in his adjustment to life's demands. He finds it difficult to imagine social conduct without these props and systems of belief which assist him to deal with his unconscious impulses to the satisfaction of the community. Similarly has the pagan native, on the plane of his cultural development, rituals, ceremonies and sacrifices, as well as rationalizations and projections of his forbidden impulses, because he fears the free expression of these impulses. This is analogous to the ego's fear of allowing unbridled liberty for the gratification of forbidden unconscious impulses. In this respect is witchcraft a pictorial portrayal of the dramas of the unconscious.

Having created a world for the existence of these mythical beings, supported by an elaborate system of beliefs, it stands to reason that most of the native's thinking in regard to causation must concern this world of mythical beings. The strong connecting links with this world of mythical beings are those propensities which concern security, self-preservation, erotic desires and other wishes forbidden by patriarchal law and custom. These beliefs in the existence of personified mythical beings can exist side by side with knowledge acquired from European methods of education. The European cultural influences can be viewed as superficial cognitive dispositions, while deep down abound emotional dispositions derived from pagan cultural beliefs. The educated native may conform in behaviour and conduct to European cultural standards, but his emotions frequently vibrate on the planes of pagan beliefs and these beliefs manipulate perception of objective reality according to his inner emotional needs. Under circumstances where impulses operate against moral conscience, the universal and omnipotent function of these mythical creatures is always to manipulate perception. The native may grow away from his customs in urban areas, but he does not equally readily grow away from his mystic beliefs in personified evil of the pagan

pattern. His reasoning is quite logical once we accept the magical premises ; to call his reasoning illogical or prelogical is to confuse logic with truth or reality, for a system of reasoning may be logical but still very far away from the truth ; but if logic is meant to imply consistent reasoning from rational premises, then, of course, his reasoning may be described as prelogical.

It stands to reason that just as the European schizophrenic utilizes the aeroplane, radio, telephone and televisor in his delusions and hallucinations, so the irrational thinking of the native mental patient in no way differs from the accepted thinking of the kraals. Both make use of the same system of beliefs ; the only difference lies in the formulation and expression of schizophrenic thought and behaviour in other spheres.

The native's attitude and reactions towards witchcraft have some analogy to the thinking and acting of the compulsive neurotic patient. Both are struggling against the dynamic expressions of forbidden impulses. The obsessional neurotic is defending himself against the impulses from his own mind, while the native is defending himself against impulses from the world of mythical beings. We know that the obsessional neurotic is continually making compromises with his unconscious desires, as well as sacrifices and ceremonials. A study of the various pagan customs and sacrifices shows this same factor of atonement towards the *Izinyanya*, which, together with the *mores* in this culture, correspond to the superego or moral conscience of the obsessional neurotic patient. This similarity is further observed in the magical power that words have for the obsessional neurotic. In this respect do the phobias and obsessions in European patients serve as clinical illustrations of the native's defence reactions against witchcraft.

What we find in the native is not so much a question of repression as it is that of the employment of defensive methods. The ideas about witchcraft are conscious while the person carries out some ritualistic practice to satisfy his guilt feelings and thereby to compromise with his forbidden impulses. We cannot get away from the idea that most of these practices serve to protect the person against witchcraft influences and when we identify witchcraft with infantile desires in direct antithesis to the moral conscience of this culture, we see the same mechanisms operating as are found in the compulsive obsessional neuroses. By making this comparison I do not wish to imply that the belief in witchcraft is a mass psychoneurosis—it obviously is not

that—but I wish to draw attention to the similarity between the mechanisms and the defence reactions employed against forbidden impulses.

We may speculate whether obsessional neuroses would occur among the Europeans if we had a similar system of beliefs as the native. In the type of psychoneurotic under discussion, it is an individual matter peculiar to the experiences of the person and is portrayed in symptoms as a conflict between the instinctive infantile urges and the later acquired moral components of the mind, whereas in the pagan native it is the instinctive infantile needs in conflict with the dictates of patriarchal law and tribal moral customs. But the guilt feelings underlying both forms of reaction remain the same and, in the native culture, it is the problem of a people wherein all share.

The mythological beliefs of the native have penetrated into the lower strata of European culture, and much of the confused thinking of Europeans is due to their inability to distinguish between what I here describe as mediumistic powers and the mythological beliefs in witchcraft and black magic. It is always of interest to obtain the views of Europeans living in the native territories or those who are acquainted with native ways and customs. These Europeans appear to consider witchcraft just nonsensical beliefs, but a little deeper probing will bring to light puzzlement especially in regard to the powers possessed by some *isanuses* in locating cattle and naming criminals. Further enquiry into the European's conceptions of native beliefs shows not only his defective discrimination but that his treatment of these beliefs as nonsense is not a true reflection of his attitude towards them. In fact, in spite of his many rationalizations, he is to a great extent under the influence of these mysterious actions of witchcraft, when he admits that he cannot understand them nor entirely deny the existence of these powers. Thus one can accept that he is indeed susceptible to their influence and to the suggestive effects of the practices and beliefs of the native group. This accounts for the secret and common practice among Europeans of consulting the *amagqira* about their bodily illnesses, and they even take the psychotic members of their families to them. In a certain district it is quite fashionable for ladies to consult *isanuses*. Perhaps such people are tired of the lack of mystery and ritual in our therapeutic armamentarium. But this does not only apply to *isanuses*; our native medical colleagues frequently become the objects of some fashionable craze in a district, largely because there is an implicit

conception that they have brought into their medical practice something of the mystery associated with the therapeutic methods of their people. This is entirely due to the confusion of mediumistic qualities with the mysterious powers of witchcraft. The native himself, when consulting an *isanuse*, does not give a history of his illness nor a description of his symptoms. He merely squats and the *isanuse* or *iggira* describes to him in detail his complaint. Personal observation of these consultations has shown me that the *amaggira* are great intuitionists. Besides, they know by experience in a taboo-ridden community exactly what factors will drive a man to consult an *iggira* or *ixhwele*, as well as the customary interpretations the patient will place on this disturbance, be it psychological or physical.

For instance, as previously mentioned, nearly every native describes the beginning of his symptoms as headache, stomachache, backache and bodily pains. It is the most common description given of the onset of a psychosis, and it shows that a narcissistic and hypochondriacal attitude towards his body is his main stock-in-trade when consulting anyone about his health. Again, these are the symptoms of poisoning, and poisoning, in his projected form of thinking, is the only harm that can befall him. The native doctor will describe a series of neurasthenic symptoms and then proceed to tell him exactly what he has done to treat himself, including the drinking of emetics and the sacrifice of a sheep or goat. The patient is usually amazed at this detailed knowledge about his condition and does not refrain from expressing his wonder and surprise at such a profound knowledge of his illness. More often the method of approach is by way of vague suggestions, which are sufficiently near the customary truth to make the patient express agreement. This method is commonly employed by *amaggira* and *amaxhwele*, who do not possess the faculty of psychic sensitivity. It must be understood that the patients are not slow in expressing agreement and soon the doctor has all the information without once having asked for it, after which he proceeds to describe every occurrence in great detail. This method is not unlike that of the quack who advertises a number of complaints in the newspaper under the caption, "Do you suffer from . . . ?" and allows the patient to select his own ailment.

In the course of these investigations it frequently happened that where a number of people were collected at a kraal, they availed themselves of the opportunity to ask for free medical advice. For instance, one native described a queer smell in his nose at certain times. A

few questions about the smell gave me the impression that it was an epileptic aura. Adopting the *amaggira* method and knowing the customs and psychology of the people, I gave him a complete and detailed description of the nature of his illness, as well as the state of his mind from time to time. The patient and the members of his family were spellbound and they greeted the explanations and diagnosis with cries of "He is a native *iggira*". Such incidents assisted a great deal in obtaining secretly guarded information about their customs.

The information at the disposal of the pagan native is not of such a nature as to assist him in the formulation of critical judgments. Any part which once belonged to the whole has some attribute of the whole; for instance the part of the finger amputated as well as the part of the prepuce, still possesses an invisible link with the body, as if there is an invisible body made up of sensations and still in contact with the part removed from the body. This is called sympathetic magic, since it is believed that any action on the part will lead to similar action on the whole. But this action which they fear must be of a particular nature before it inspires fear, and so it must conform to the sort of action known as witchcraft and evil.

The native's conception of causation is divided into two categories, that which is good and that which is evil; and the latter is that which brings adversity to his crops, cattle and family. Evil is to him an adverse force, manifested in different forms, and having objective reality because he sees the results of its activities in the failure of his crops and sickness among his cattle and members of his kraal. This evil has something to do with morality, for the native, in cases of adversity, seeks the causes in his behaviour or in that of the members of his kraal. When he is asked to explain what this evil really is, he can only give a vague explanation of something not lacking purpose or design. Hence he is required to build up rituals and customs in his social organization and these serve as a guide to the attainment of desirable forms of conduct. His sacrifices and appeals to his ancestors show that they have been promoted by death to a higher form of existence and that they can still influence and assist him to combat those evil forces they themselves once battled against. But, due to the very common element of the mechanism of projection in his thinking, evil is an organized force having a separate existence outside his mind, and this separate existence is as objective to his comprehension as his neighbour's kraal. When he searches his

actions to find a cause for the adversity he experiences, he does so, not because he thinks his actions are directly responsible, but because he thinks he has offended his ancestral protectors, and, as their influence was withdrawn, so the influence of evil stepped in and manifested itself. To carry out his rituals and customs is to ensure the constant blessings and guardianship of his ancestors.

The pagan native here considered is frequently accused of worshipping his ancestors, but this is not the case; at least the pagans do not consider their ancestors as the ultimate and finite conception of spiritual existence. They appeal to them as they would have appealed to them if alive, for to them death is conceived as but a change of form and existence and herein the pagan is far more definite and concrete in his belief than the Christian. At least he has a much clearer idea of survival after death and a survival of the personality as a whole.

The native custom shows a hierarchical arrangement where the higher controls the lower, and so, as the grandfathers die, they enter a still higher sphere, or place of existence, and are capable of exercising influences on those planes beneath them. Above them is another higher order, which existed long before their births and this higher order is synonymous with our idea of God. The native has a name for this conception called *Umdali*, but he cannot form an idea of God except that it is a something akin to a force. He vaguely searches in the sky for some symbol whereby he may arrive at an explanation of what he has in mind, but it is obvious that the conception is too abstract for his manner of thinking to enable him to formulate his thoughts in coherent speech. He maintains that this higher existence gives life and makes things grow. Hence he sacrifices and appeals to his ancestors, who are nearer this order, and his ancestors intercede for him and hand on to him and his kraal the blessings this higher order bestows on them.

Now all that is good comes from this higher order and works through their ancestors; in fact, their ancestors merely serve as the connecting link, or medium, for the transmission of these blessings, because they are in more direct contact with this source of "good". It will be understood that the native in his conduct and custom must feel in touch, as it were, with his ancestors and thus be in a better position to combat evil, since the power for this purpose is supplied to him by the guardianship of his deceased forebears. The manner in which evil operates is by means of witchcraft, similar in symbolic

value to the fast fading belief among our own people of evil as the Devil, the pitch-fork and eternal hell-fire. Both instances show the mechanism of projection and personification as manifested in forms of religious worship, where an ideal of human conduct is personified as a person or spirit.

The social influence of witchcraft can be compared to the effect of poison on the individual. In fact, to the native the media for conveying witchcraft to the victim, especially those media which must be ingested first, or taken through any discontinuity in the skin, are called poisons. His reactions to the idea are in every respect similar to the reactions he would have made if he had actually swallowed some poisonous substance. Here again the idea is equal in value and effectiveness to the objective and material poison. As a result of this conception and manner of reaction, the method of counteracting witchcraft, or an antidote for witchcraft, must consist of the same elements as go toward the construction of this evil force. As the ingestion of poison is something one abhors, so witchcraft is abhorred and feared, with this exception, that one is totally in the dark regarding the direction from which this poison may come, as well as regarding the means of its administration. By accepting the existence of such a mechanism with a design for doing harm, the native automatically places the *isanuse*, *amaggira* and *amaxhwele* in an exalted position, for some of these practitioners are not only vendors of witchcraft and magic, but they are also concrete mediums for counteracting evil influences, and they are frequently appealed to in order to counteract or destroy the evil influences instituted by some other person. The antidote is thus a two-edged sword; it can be used for evil as well as a destroyer of evil. It depends entirely for what purpose it is employed. This is symbolic of the instinctive forces at our command. They can be organized and sublimated for altruistic purposes and they can be utilized for selfish destructive aims; in short, they can be social or anti-social. In the native's psychology this social evil has a special meaning and is wholly concerned with destructive aims. This belief forms the basis of his immature differentiation between subject and object relationships. In fact, it is the emotional and dynamic value of his beliefs that leads to this defective appreciation of subject and object relationships. If such a description is permissible, this condition appears to me, to consist in his defective discrimination being due to a fusion of his ego with objective reality. The comprehension of rational relationships as known to us has but a faint glimmer in his

psychology. The native who has recently discarded tribal traditions and customs usually has several inconsistent beliefs operating in the same mind, one belonging to the culture of his people, the other acquired from the opposites in the white man's culture. He is inclined to utilize either one or the other, according to the emotional appeal and suggestive influences of the particular atmosphere in which he finds himself. In consequence, should there be any reason for concern about his health, he will more readily place his confidence in the *amaggira* than in the white man's science. His narcissism produces a feeling of being threatened when faced with this fear and all he has learned from the European gives way to the cognitive dispositions in harmony with his people's customs and beliefs. He will go to the European doctor for a diagnosis but will drink the medicines of the *amaxhwele* or *amaggira*.

The *iggira* may be clairvoyant or clairaudient, but after his clairvoyant or clairaudient reception he proceeds according to the techniques of his profession, and spins any plausible yarn to gain his own end. One must not think that he places a high spiritual interpretation on the supernormal receptions which he claims, because his subsequent conduct towards the patient is very much like that of a certain type of moneylender towards his victim. From a huge collection of bits of bark, stems of plants, leaves, bulbs, snake-skins, teeth of animals, dead insects and bits of stone he grinds a powder which will cure all illnesses. By means of different combinations he can concoct a potion that will cause a woman to become love-sick for a man or vice versa, or from the scrapings of a certain bark he can make anyone invisible; a form of medicine much sought after by cattle thieves, according to the *amaxhwele*. His professional career starts with a lie when he claims to have been underneath the river and to have brought all these medicines from the *Abantubomlambo*. Many an *iggira*, after his trust and confidence have been obtained and after he has been of great value in these investigations, still maintains with absolute conviction that he visited the River People.

The *iggira* is an important component of pagan native culture, and his prestige is attained by three functions which he fulfils in this setting. First, he has mysterious knowledge of magic and witchcraft medicines. He knows where to find these and how to mix and prescribe them. Secondly, he can communicate with the deceased grandfathers and make their wishes known to those in need of them. Thirdly, and perhaps this is the most important part of his office, he

functions as a factor which assists in gratifying the native's need for security. The customs and sacrifices and ceremonial practices illustrate the native's striving to gratify this vital need for security and especially security against the forces of evil which are always at hand. Custom prescribes the boundaries and outlets of his aggressive sexual impulses, and during his feasts, when he knows he has done his duty by sacrifices for his security, his happiness is exuberant. Yet, even while he is enjoying himself, he is suspicious and careful lest any part of the ritual be not carried out according to custom.

He is thus by nature suspicious and his attitude is on the whole defensive, until he feels that he can trust one. At several kraals girls were terrified to be photographed, because these images of theirs would be taken far away and be seen by someone who might fancy them. The danger is that the person might do something to the photograph and enslave them to his desires. It was only after they learned to trust and understand my motives that they submitted to being photographed. These incidents were not frequent; nevertheless they occurred. The same applies to the elders; it was only after many visits, when their confidence had been obtained, that deeper and deeper strata of their culture were revealed.

There is present no doubt a definite fear in revealing their practices and rituals to the white man. It seems that imparting this knowledge means parting with something of value to them, as if it were some power they were losing. Resultingly, the native is constantly aware of a need to protect himself against evil by charms and the ascertainment of the ever-watchfulness of his ancestors. His cultural status is phylogenetically on a par with the Oedipus complex phase in ontogenetic development. The ancestors become parent surrogates and his security means a constant assurance of their love. In this respect the repeated carrying out of ceremony and sacrifice has almost a compulsive function and again shows the similarity between his mass psychology and the particular psychology of the compulsive obsessional neurotic. The latter is dominated by his infantile impulses and the native is the slave of the infantile status of his cultural development. This security-need in his psychology is hence provided for in his traditional customs and beliefs; in fact, his tribal traditions are forces of rectitude, and when he leaves the kraal atmosphere, rich in its practice of custom, the European culture which he tries to acquire cannot entirely replace that which belongs to his kraal atmosphere. In consequence, his European culture is frequently

a veneer screening his primitive beliefs. Superficially he may appear near to our culture, but emotionally he is really very far away, so that we must expect distrust to loom large in his mind. This transition from his habits and customs to ours requires a number of props and substitutes not at present available. His transition or emancipation from his so-called raw state has been merely a chance process and, as yet, has not received any thorough and organized thinking to assist his adaptation.

The educated native may scoff at these beliefs to the European, but his scoffing is not infrequently a defensive reaction as a form of compensation for the inferiority he feels, as well as being self-conscious of the immaturity of his new cultural adaptation. But when he is placed in the emotional situation which will stimulate the infantile and narcissistic components of the mind, he will present a different attitude towards these beliefs of his people, for on searching his mind, those dispositions handed down by tradition again become actuated by his unconscious impulses.

The *igqira* as a professional man is frequently one with a personality above the average. His outstanding quality is that of showmanship. Tradition, custom and belief form the necessary basis for his existence and once his reputation is established, the credulity of the people makes it possible for him to practise his profession with various gradations, from clairvoyance to herbal medicines and pure charlatanism in extracting evil objects of sorcery, as well as in protecting homes from witchcraft and lightning. His business is a money-making concern and he is, as a rule, a man with assets in the community. Although he is a slave to his traditional beliefs and customs, he manipulates them very successfully for his own ends.

If he has to use deception to effect a cure, he contends that the end justifies the means. This is a somewhat common attribute of the native and, in his system of moral values, is quite justified. He has no qualms about telling the most convincing lie, especially to the white man, if the object he wishes to attain carries tribal or family approval. For instance, it is a common occurrence for relatives of native patients to come to the hospital with a pathetic story as to why they want their brother home on leave for a few months. One is frequently told that the family has been saving up for an *Idini* sacrifice and that now all the members of the family have come from afar, even from the gold-mines, to be present at this ceremony, but the ceremony cannot be held without the presence of the brother who is

confined in the hospital. In answer to this pleading and out of consideration for their beliefs in the necessity of this sacrifice, the brother, if a schizophrenic in a remissive phase or a mental defective, is allowed out on leave to attend the ceremony. In one case I investigated in the area where the patient lived, on the day the feast was to be held, I discovered that there never was any intention of having an *Idini* feast and that the members of the family were not all at home, but that the relatives, having no faith in the white man's diagnosis and science had taken the brother to an *iggira*. Thus, on the whole, the pagan native accepts the white man's decisions and rules, in his own patient way, as a form of sufferance.

The *iggira*, for instance, is called to a patient who believes she has been bewitched because she has a queer feeling somewhere in her abdomen. After palpating her abdomen he agrees that there is something wrong but that this something is the work of sorcery. He now makes an incision through the skin and sucks the wound. Soon he calls for a cup and spits out a frog or tadpole. At other times he extracts these objects of sorcery without any disturbance of the continuity of the skin. Of course the patient recovers. Psychopathology, taking cognizance of native custom and belief, can provide adequate explanation for the recovery, but surely the *iggira's* technique in his cultural setting does not differ much from the European doctor who prescribes coloured water as a *placebo*.

Witchcraft is only possible in so far as the person believes in its powers. Suggestion operating on this accepted belief produces all the manifestations of being bewitched. The suspicious trait in the native's character makes him prone to draw inferences activated by the emotional forces generated by beliefs. The delusion of being bewitched is prevalent in native schizophrenic psychoses. It may, of course, be a normal delusion, based on belief, but here one only considers it as a psychotic delusion when hallucination as well as disturbance of his sense of values in other domains accompanies it, inclusive of the picture of his behaviour as a whole. In any case, an incipient psychosis of this nature, with ideas that other people are against the patient, frequently necessitates an *iggira* or *ixhwele* being called in to protect him against the sorcery of others. So, when a person thinks someone in his community wishes to do him harm by means of witchcraft, he sends for the native doctor to protect his home and family against witchcraft. For this purpose, the doctor is accompanied by four assistants.

They leave so as to arrive at their destination about sunset and on arrival the people of the kraal kill a sheep for them. The blood is caught up in a dish and a fire is made in the largest hut. The lid of a cooking-pot is placed on the fire and the blood is poured on the lid. This gives rise to a black smoke. All the people of the kraal now run round this fire in the nude. They are not allowed to talk, dance or sing. After a while the fire is put out and the doctor and his four assistants go to another hut where they are to sleep, but before going to bed they mix medicine with which to wash in the morning. This medicine is mixed with water and left for the night. Early next morning all the people of the kraal requiring treatment have to wash in this medicine outside the hut. Now other medicine is made by cooking it in a pot. This medicine is to be taken internally by all the members of the kraal fearing witchcraft. This last medicine is an emetic and profuse vomiting follows its ingestion. When the vomiting is over they have to lie on their backs in a row.

In the meantime some bits of bark, etc., are ground and more medicine is prepared. The doctor goes round and pours a spoonful of medicine into each person's nostrils. The immediate reaction is sneezing, thereby removing soot and dirt from the nose. This procedure is considered of equal value to the vomiting. After this everybody rests and awaits the day. As soon as it is daylight other medicines are concocted and put around the huts. After breakfast the family of the kraal enters the hut where they ran round the smoke the night before. Small incisions are made on their bodies, into which powdered medicine is rubbed. Then medicine is smeared outside the door in the shape of a horse-shoe. This is also done on the back wall of the hut opposite the door.

After a period of rest, holes are dug all around the huts, including the cattle kraal, in the form of a huge circle. Into each hole a little medicine is poured. Pegs are driven into the ground in the line of the circle and pegs are driven into the back wall of the hut, where the medicine was smeared, and in the roofs of the huts. All the members of the family are again dosed, each with a spoonful of medicine. If, after this, anyone should administer poison to them they believe they will vomit up the poison immediately. If an evil person should come to bewitch the kraal, after this prevention ceremony, he will be unable to come within the circle, due to the buried medicine: at least, if he comes within the circle of buried medicine and pegs, he will become paralysed and will be unable to move, and

the owner will find the evil-doer helpless within the circle in the morning.

The "smelling out" ceremony is still in use in the Transkei territory. There is a popular conception as regards this ceremony among Europeans, that the doctor smells each person in turn until he locates the right one, but such is not the case. The word "smelling" is symbolic of bad behaviour. If a native's ways are wrong, they say "he smells", or *ukunuka*. Special psychiatric interest is attached to this ceremony of "smelling out". In the first instance the person who suspects witchcraft may be psychotic and be suffering from delusions of persecution. Thus my investigations were explicitly framed. "What makes a man think that someone has done him harm?" It is learned that if there is a disease among the cattle or family, a sacrifice will be held and if, after the sacrifice, adversity still continues, suspicions are aroused that some individual is exercising witchcraft influences on the home.

The head of the kraal now calls the members of his kraal and relatives together. At times these assembled number as many as thirty. He does not tell them why he has called them until they are a certain distance from the *igqira's* kraal. It stands to reason that they must have known before, but it is the custom that they ask no questions and pretend ignorance. A fairly long way from the *igqira's* kraal they sit down and await the coming of a messenger. The *igqira* has not been informed by them of the purpose of their visit. This is repeatedly emphasized. Again they never consult an *igqira* near their own kraal. It must be one a long way away, sometimes in another district. This is done to eliminate fraudulent "smelling" in case the doctor has a private grudge against someone. In olden times this was a popular way of getting rid of political enemies.

The head informs his relatives that whatever the *igqira* tells them about him will be the truth. As soon as the messenger arrives he says, "Clap your hands!" and as they clap he tells them why they have come to see his master, the *igqira*. Of course the *igqira* knows all about their coming, because he knows what has been happening at their kraal.

Now the doctor or *igqira* arrives in person and the messenger retires to the kraal. The doctor relates how the man's suspicions first started and what has happened in his kraal that has made him suspicious; further, what he has already done by means of sacrifices, etc., to remove this evil, but that he has failed and this is the reason

why he has come with the relatives to seek the help of the *igqira*. After this explanation he cries *Siyavuma?* (Do you agree?) and the answer is *Siyavuma!* (We agree!) Now he gives further descriptions and explanations and when the matter is convincingly clear to the people, and when what he has told them corresponds with what the man has actually done, they do not say *Siyavuma!* but *Posa ngasemva!* meaning "that is actually what he has in his mind". The doctor will ask if they are satisfied with the explanation and if they are they signify by shouting *Siyavuma!* The *igqira* asks the man if he has brought a goat for payment and as soon as he pays the goat the *igqira* names the culprit. The accused person may not be in the group assembled. Sometimes it happens that the man pointed out will protest and point out another man. In that case the *igqira* gives this man the goat saying "Let us go to another *igqira* more famous than I am and hear what he will say".

Here the same procedure is carried out and if they do not agree they may go to a third *igqira*. The second and third usually agree. The man pointed out has to pay each of the *amagqira* who agreed in their diagnosis, a goat; on top of this he is given a good hiding for practising witchcraft. In this respect his conduct is punished as if he were a naughty child who indulged in forbidden acts.

It happens sometimes that a man is pointed out who is respected in the community and, although the people feel sad about it they do not protest, for who knows who is dabbling in witchcraft? It will be seen from this practice that whatever powers the *igqira* may have for ascertaining people's doings, he is definitely on such occasions employing them in a base manner for his personal gain and reputation. It shows equally how readily an *igqira* with supernormal psychic powers in such a primitive culture can prostitute his gifts.

The *ixhwele* sells a kind of root from which love potions are made. This root is supposed to contain the *Mamlambo's* magic. When once a person acquires a *Mamlambo* it is impossible to be freed of it unless it is driven away by the *ixhwele* or *igqira*. The love medicine is worn as a necklace made of bits of this root and strung together. This necklace is called *ikubalo*. Some of these roots have *Mamlambo* magic; others have no such magic but only love magic. *Amaxhwele* frequently wear these *ikubalo* necklaces. The one described in the case of *Impundulu* witchcraft, tried by Velelo, wore one of these necklaces. This may account for the number of women pupils.

When a native buys medicine from an *ixhwele*, and this medicine

is in the shape of roots, the native behaves in a very suspicious manner. He will take a small piece and throw it in the fire or put a match to it to see whether it will burn, for if it does not burn or slips out of his hand he is sure it is the *Mamlambo* in disguise. Or he may prick the root with a pin and if it jumps out of his hand it is considered convincing evidence that the root medicine is the *Mamlambo* itself. The native is just as afraid of being associated with the *Mamlambo* as we are of being considered perverts. The *Mamlambo* is reputed to be very partial to flesh and blood and anyone having a *Mamlambo* usually kills a great deal and is a gluttonous meat eater. At times the *Mamlambo's* craving may extend to human flesh and cases of homicide have been attributed to the *Mamlambo's* influence. In fact, where a father of a family dies, one of the sons may come under suspicion for having a *Mamlambo*.

For instance, when the *lobola* cattle are brought to the bride's kraal, they are disturbed early next morning and the places where they were lying are carefully examined for zig-zag impressions, for these, if present, serve as proof that the kraal they came from has a *Mamlambo* and it is fully expected that the bride will not live long once she is married. What is reputed to be a true occurrence was told at a gathering of elders about a *Mamlambo*. A certain very wealthy native who had a *Mamlambo* took seriously ill and on his death-bed he gave the *Mamlambo* to the younger of his two sons. The elder knew nothing about this and the younger son, although he did not want the *Mamlambo*, out of love and respect for his father did not mention this inheritance to anyone. Some time after the death of the father this second son became ill and the *iggira* was called in. The *iggira* told them that this young man was given a *Mamlambo* by his father, but he was not suited for a *Mamlambo*; in fact, he did not like it and that was why the *Mamlambo* caused him to become ill. The elder son was sceptical about this so the *iggira* offered to deliver proof of his statements. The *iggira* thereupon killed a black goat, mixed the blood with powdered medicine, and poured a little in each of several empty jam tins. A circle was drawn round the kraal and the tins with medicated blood placed along the line of the circle at certain particular points. The *iggira* maintained that when the *Mamlambo* returned from the river that evening it would be unable to enter the circle and they would hear its cry of distress. (Some of these *amaggira* are ventriloquists.) *Mamlambos* also live in the rivers, like the *Tikoloshe* and *Abantubomlambo*.

After dark that night they all heard the *Mamlambo* crying around the kraal. The *iggira*, having convinced them, now asked whether he must drive it away. But the elder son, who was much loved by his mother and who was not married, demanded that the *Mamlambo* be given to him, since he was the eldest of his father's kraal. The *iggira* demanded his fee and told him to get an *ixhwele* to transfer the *Mamlambo* to him.

The *ixhwele* came, killed a black goat and filled a dish of blood

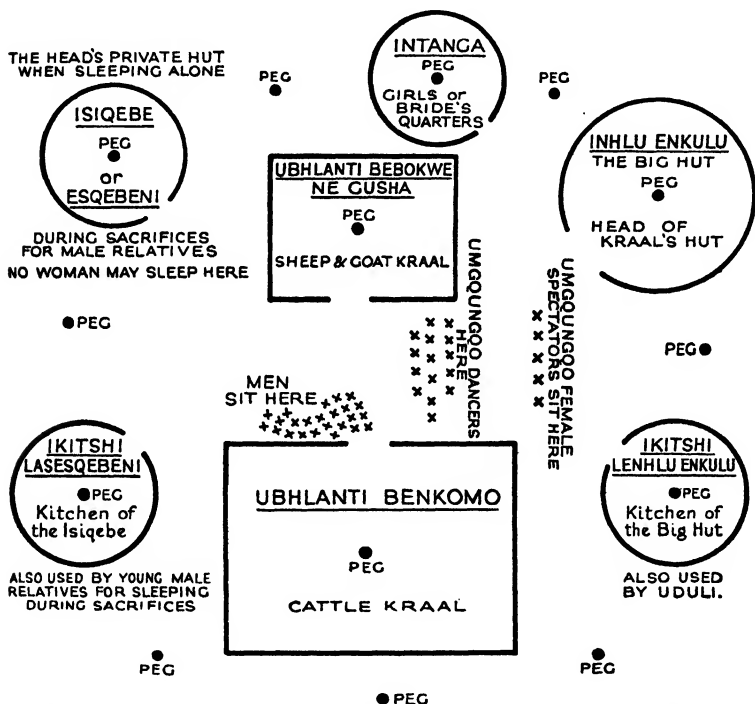


Diagram of typical kraal. The pegs are for prevention of witchcraft. Umgungqo are dancers.

which he placed at the kraal. The *Mamlambo* came and drank this blood and so all was well. The elder son had the *Mamlambo* and the younger recovered, married and built his own kraal, but he could not acquire wealth and soon he was wandering about the countryside penniless and a tramp, while the elder son never married and is a wealthy man to this day.

When such stories are related, the names and addresses of the persons concerned are always given, since the information is given

in all good faith and sincerity. It will be observed that the *iggira* requested the elder son to obtain the assistance of an *ixhwele* in the transference of the *Mamlambo*, because he has the ability to work in the service of these mysterious creatures.

When it happens that the presence of a *Mamlambo* is felt in a kraal and the inhabitants are averse to having a *Mamlambo*, steps are immediately taken to fortify the kraal against its influence. An *iggira* reputed to have magic against evil is called in to officiate at the rites. A black goat is killed far away from the huts. The blood is taken to the kraal but the carcass is left there undisturbed. The blood is mixed with medicines, and pegs are cut from a certain tree, dipped in the blood and driven into the ground and roofs of the huts as illustrated in the diagram of a typical kraal given on page 65. The *Mamlambo* leaves this kraal and converts itself into some attractive article which, when picked up, will attach the *Mamlambo* to another person. A walking stick is a common disguise of the *Mamlambo*.

The care and secrecy exercised in burying the amputated portion of the finger, prepuce and hair cut from the body during initiation ceremonies shows the constant dread of the native lest evil should befall him. The people believe that the *Tikoloshe* fetches these hidden or buried parts of the person if he is aware of the hiding-place and conveys the required prepuce, finger or hair to the person who sent him on his errand. Such a person is one in the service of witchcraft. When the portions of the human body are in the possession of the evil one, whatever part has been obtained is ground and mixed with a deadly poison. The *Tikoloshe* returns this concoction and places it in the victim's food. It is believed that nothing can prevent death under such circumstances. Other influences can be exercised on the portion of finger or prepuce and lead to illnesses, mental disorder or delinquent conduct.

CHAPTER IV

SACRIFICES AND CUSTOMS ASSOCIATED WITH BIRTH, CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

CAMAGU

THE word *camagu*, having ritual powers, occupies a most important place in the Tembu culture. In all instances of genuine worship and sacrifice *camagu* appears. It is indeed a word carrying magic power to the native mind and is thus never flippantly employed.

It has many complex connotations which are bewildering to those not acquainted with the inner mysteries of the ritualistic practices. For instance, it is employed as "farewell" in reference to the *Izinyanya* (ancestors). In this sense it means "Those blessed ones we said farewell to" or "The departed ones". If *camagu* is employed in saying farewell to a living person, then it implies a farewell which prays that the person will be blessed and guarded, but its common usage in this respect has reference to the ancestors, especially at the burial service of a grandfather. During sacrifice, immediately the animal is slaughtered, they shout "*Camagu!*" and here it means an appeal to the *Izinyanya* for blessings and protection. On occasions of its employment in sacrifice and worship it covers all conditions, tendencies and manifestations of what one may call religious emotions. Thus *camagu* implies fear, awe, mercy, humiliation, wonder and gratitude. In forms of worship or sacrifice it connotes a greeting as well as a prayer to those exalted spiritual *Izinyanya* who inspire reverence.

If employed during combat, it means a call for mercy as well as utter humiliation and capitulation, to which the *Izinyanya* bears witness, for *camagu* is equally an appeal to them for help and forgiveness. It is thus to the pagans a "signal of distress". At all times it reflects a state of negative self-feeling.

In the days gone by, if a chief condemned a man to death and the populace shouted "*Camagu!*" that man had to be granted a second hearing. Similarly, due to the fact that no one was allowed to touch

a chief's body, if the chief was assaulting anyone and someone shouted "*Camagu!*" he had to desist. I am informed by a prominent pagan friend whose name I cannot divulge, that even to this day, apart from sacrifice and worship, if the words *Camagu Mhlekazi!* are used with arms on high in a moment of danger, combat, or maybe assault, the pagan native will show mercy.

Such is the power of the word *camagu*, on account of its implicit reference to the spiritual *Izinyanya*. In the correct pronunciation of *camagu* the "c" is sounded by sucking the tip of the tongue from the palate and teeth. The "a" is sounded as the English "ah".

CHILD-BIRTH

Among the Tembu and Fingo people, there are women corresponding to our midwives. Their training for this work is obtained by assisting and working under the supervision of an older midwife. During labour the midwife massages the patient's back in the lumbar region between pains and during pains she performs downward pressure movements over the abdomen. Manual interference *per vaginam* is at times executed but usually this is left to the *iggira* in cases of difficult labour.

There is one recognized condition which demands that all women present or in the vicinity of the hut must loosen their clothing around their waists. This is the operation of the law of sympathetic magic, for it is believed that anyone wearing tight clothing in the immediate vicinity of the hut will interfere with the natural course of the labour and produce a sympathetic obstruction to the passage of the child and thereby delay the process of birth.

As soon as the child is born it is first given some special medicine and thereafter given the breast. This is a dramatic moment, for should the child refuse to drink, the mother is suspected of being associated with witchcraft. If the child behaves normally at the breast, the custom of *Futwa* is performed. The branches from a tree called *Mnikandiba* are put on a fire, made near the spot where the woman was confined and not in the recognized fire-place in the centre of the hut. If the child cries, the smoke is considered to have a beneficial effect. The mother and child must be naked during the performance of this rite. This custom is regularly performed at all births. The smoke is believed to strengthen both the mother and the child. The emphasis laid on the child's crying rather suggests a method for

stimulating deep respiratory movements and thereby relieves cyanosis.

Before the birth of the child a cup with a little spout is made out of pot clay. All liquids, other than the mother's milk, are fed to the child from this cup. The mother is confined to her bed for ten days, which is the *Mdlezana* or unclean period. During *Mdlezana* the woman is not seen by men, nor is she allowed to come near the husband's sleeping-place in the hut. She must not leave the hut, drink milk or eat meat; these two latter foodstuffs are both detrimental to her. They both stimulate sexual desire, and milk causes, besides, increase of hæmorrhage. The fulfilment of these requirements of custom is called *Ukufukama* or purification.

When the mother is ready to leave the hut, the women-folk of the kraal each place two white beads in her hand, saying, "*Camagu!*" The mother replies, "*Camagu!*" This process is repeated by each placing two white beads in the hands of the child again saying, "*Camagu!*" and the mother replies for the child. This can be taken as a prayer for health and blessings for the child before the first sacrifice. The mother is hereafter smeared with fat and *Imbola* (red ochre) and the *Ukufukama* is completed. In olden times this period of *Mdlezana* was one month. The mother is, from now on, allowed to proceed with her household duties. The child is tied on her back and accompanies her on all excursions.

There is no definite and accepted position the mother is required to occupy during the actual birth of the child. She may sit on her haunches or lie on her back or side. The usual position favoured by midwives interviewed seems to be that she should lie on her back.

When the child is from three to four weeks old the first sacrifice for the new-born is carried out. Custom makes this sacrifice compulsory, for if it is not carried out according to law, or if it is not carried out at all, the child will be prone to many diseases and it will surely die or lose its senses before reaching adult life. This sacrifice is hence of great importance in Tembu and Fingo culture. The sacrificial animal must be either a sheep or a goat. If the child has not been sick since birth, any colour of sheep or goat will do, but if the child has already had some illness prior to three or four weeks after birth a white "spotless" animal must be killed. Should the father have no stock he must purchase an animal for this purpose and it must be the same kind of animal as his own father killed for him when he was an infant.

When all preparations have been made, the relatives within reach of the kraal are notified and they must attend the sacrifice. The mother and her child are placed behind the door of the hut on the day of "killing", and she is not allowed to stir herself to do any work on that particular day. She must behave, as regards her household duties, in every way as she did on the day of the birth of the child: that is, she must appear in some way incapacitated and entirely indifferent to the duties of her home. Everything must be done for her by others.

The animal is brought to the door of the hut and shown the mother and the child. It is then told that it is going to be killed in accordance with the traditions and customs of the race. It is explained to the animal that if it does not give its life, the child will become ill and die. To this is added that if, in spite of this sacrifice of animal life, the child should take ill and die, the performance of the sacrifice as demanded by custom cannot be held as the cause of the child's death. This manner of addressing the animal is almost an appeal for its co-operation in the performance of the sacrifice called *Umbingelelo*.

The animal is killed in front of the door of the hut. It is pulled to the ground and stabbed in the belly with an assegai. As the goat bleats, all present shout "*Camagu!*" When the throat is cut the blood is caught up in a dish and is afterwards cooked for the children. The right shoulder is first skinned and as soon as the flesh is exposed and while there still is some twitching in the muscles, a piece called *Isipika* is excised, grilled on the coals and given to the mother to eat. This is fed to her on the end of a stick. She must in no way handle the meat with her hands, otherwise it will defile the sacrifice. Before the meat is handed to the mother it is sprinkled with powdered medicine containing charred snake-skin, preferably "python" skin. This medicine is to reach the child through the mother's milk. With the exception of the *Isipika*, no other meat is cut or consumed on that day. The carcass is skinned and then covered with the skin and placed in the hut.

A strip of skin is cut from the right front leg of the animal and tied round the right wrist of the child. This is never taken off, but must wear off by itself. That night, the parents and child sleep with the carcass of the sacrificed animal in the same hut. The following day the right shoulder is cooked for the mother, while the rest of the animal is consumed by the other members of the kraal.

The contents of the stomach and bowels of the slaughtered animal are emptied and strewn all over the cattle kraal. It is meant to convey to the ancestors that the sacrifice has been performed according to custom. The Tembu claim that it also connotes that the wives must not look for men at other kraals. It seems difficult somehow to associate this injunction with the scattering of the fæces from the bowels of the slaughtered animal, unless one is acquainted with the symbolic psychological meaning and the importance attached to the cattle kraal in native culture.

By referring to the diagram on page 65, the reader will be able to visualize its situation. The cattle kraal is the place of gathering of the elders of the tribe. All important discussions are held there. It is the place where the spirits of the ancestors first congregate if their help is required. It will be understood from this, that the cattle kraal is the most dignified place in the whole home setting. No wife is allowed to approach too near, or to enter the cattle kraal. This taboo is always upheld, with the exception of one or two customs associated with marriage ceremonies. The admission of women to the cattle kraal signifies a sign of disrespect for the head or owner of the kraal.

The excrement of cattle is of great importance in native culture. It is used for the decoration of the face by members of the bridal party during marriage ceremonies, and as a polish for the floor of the hut. It is of therapeutic value as medicine and poultices and is used in the amputation of the finger. It is also used as fuel for the fire. The family store the mealies and kaffir corn in a subterranean chamber which opens in the centre of the cattle kraal. The mouth of this chamber is closed with a big flat stone and sealed round about with wet cow-dung. Thus the valuable products of the crops are stored in immediate association with animal excrement. In this situation, it is in the focus of ancestral blessing.

It is not so many centuries ago since human and animal excrements played a prominent rôle in our therapeutics, as well as in the practice of religious exaltation. The Bible bears witness to the latter, and so to fæces and excrements in general belong a sense of values which at one time formed part of custom and practice as is found in pagan native culture to this day. In the European culture this sense of values abounds at an unconscious level since there is no longer a ritual practised at a conscious level to give it symbolic expression. But these unconscious impulses are seen in psychopathological

conditions as reaction formations and character traits. Conditions which evoke reactions of disgust in the European have no such connotation to the native in his ceremonial rites.

The cow to the native is a most valued animal. In fact, a literal translation of what the cow means to them can be given as an "emblem of purity". The excreta of the animal becomes identified with and incorporated into the value of the animal as a whole. It is hence valuable because it is part of a valuable whole. Of course the rôle that cow excrements play in native culture may be a traditional sublimation for the infantile interest each person had in the functions and excrements of his own bowels during the training of early childhood.

Psycho-analysis upholds the idea of displacement from the idea "fæces" to the ideas "gift" and "money". This latter conception is fairly well illustrated in the customary exchange of gifts during the marriage ceremony, as well as in the practice of strewing the bowel contents over the cattle kraal. As previously mentioned, this select and dignified meeting-place for spirits of the ancestors becomes the place where the bowels are emptied of their fæcal contents. Since these sacrifices imply the seeking of the favours, guardianship and blessing of these ancestral spirits, the fæcal bowel contents serve as a valuable gift to the ancestors. The native himself is hard put to give a reason for strewing the bowel contents in the kraal. He maintains it is the custom and has always been done. He knows fæces have no concrete and practical value in this respect, and he finds it difficult to explain in words what is to him an implicit apperception; namely its great symbolic value, a value that belongs even to the dim and distant dawn of his culture and no longer recognized for its original meaning. It is of interest that in the process of emptying the bowels of the sacrificed animal, the contents must be strewn from the bowels, otherwise it would be contaminated or defiled. It must symbolize something given up from the bowels, so as to be in harmony with the original value the infant placed on his excreta.

An explanation is still wanting as to why this practice should prevent the women from seeking men at other kraals. Here again psycho-analytic conceptions offer an explanation. It would appear symbolically that the gift to the ancestral spirits of the fæces, stimulate, by means of sympathetic magic, anal traits in the women of the kraal, exemplified by complete obedience, tidiness and propriety; for the

ancestors demand, above all, complete submission to the traditional customs of the race since it is expected of the women-folk that they show allegiance and devotion to their kraals.

While the child is still an infant, a second sacrificial ceremony is carried out, namely the amputation of the first phalanx of the third finger of the left hand. This ceremony is not compulsory, except that once a member of the family on the male side has had this amputation performed, it is required by custom that all his male descendants shall undergo the operation. This operation is instituted as a prevention against disease, but is more prevalently employed as treatment for a prolonged illness, or resistance to bladder and bowel training. (This refers to what the natives call wet and dirty children and includes nocturnal enuresis.) It is also performed on children who suffer from convulsions during infancy. Among the native patients in the hospital one comes across epileptics, idiots, imbeciles and schizophrenics who have had the first phalanx of the third finger of the left hand amputated during infancy or childhood. This observation is of great value to psychiatrists since it indicates a disturbance in health at an early age and it is more so of importance since family or personal histories are as a rule unobtainable.

This operation is, of course, a sacrifice and gives another illustration of the function of the "law of sympathetic magic" as well as the principle of compensation or gift. The child is required to give up a healthy part of himself so that he may receive health for the whole of his being. A female schizophrenic patient observed that another patient had a sore hand. She promptly grabbed the left hand and bit off the first phalanx of the third finger. After this oral sadistic act she calmly remarked, "The hand will now heal." Even in a disconnected and scattered mind, the impulse actuated by tribal tradition found a moment for its application.

In the customary ritualistic sacrifice of the first phalanx of the third finger of the left hand, great secrecy is exercised in the disposal of this amputated portion. The father and mother are the only people allowed to know its burial place, for it is unlikely that either of them will wish their child any harm. This portion of the finger is wrapped in warm cow-dung and hidden in a little hole made in the wall of the hut. This hole is plastered over with clay so as to make the place as inconspicuous as possible. The burial place of the finger must be unknown even to the *Tikoloshe*. The evil person who gains possession of this finger can put it in certain medicine and thereby cause

the wound to swell up and become septic. Again the *Impundulu* may obtain the hidden piece of finger, urinate on it and bury it, which is usually fatal to the child. No herbal dressings or bandaging are applied to the finger, but a paste is made of mice *faeces* and this is applied daily.

The distinction between left and right is very marked in these sacrifices and rituals. To recapitulate : the meat is cut from the right side of the animal ; a strip of skin from the right fore-leg is tied around the right wrist of the infant ; the right hand is spared in the amputation of the finger. The position of the huts in the kraal throws some light on this preference for the right side. The *Isipika*, the most important part of the animal, indicates that the child is born from the seed of the right-hand hut facing the rising sun, and is hence not illegitimate since the right-hand big hut is the hut of the head of the kraal. It further impresses this fact upon the ancestors to show that tribal morality and custom have not been violated and that therefore the child, being of the right line of descent, is entitled to their protection and blessings. It is a symbolic production of evidence of paternity. The child wears the strip of skin around its right wrist as proof of this evidence of legitimacy and hereby establishes its right as heir to the male line of ancestry ; so that the ancestral spirits will know and recognize it by the strip of skin.

The amputation of the finger has a different significance. The child gives up a portion of his left or inferior side, the side less esteemed, since a portion from his right side would weaken him. "Right" is understood by the native to be symbolic of power, force, rectitude, legitimacy, strength and at times, according to the nature of the sacrifice, masculinity, since the male sex has the primary right of decision in their culture. The left side is understood as being symbolic of inferiority or evil. This operation of amputating the finger illustrates the principle of compensation in native custom which, in this instance, plays a definite rôle. Any appeal to the ancestral spirits is asking for something which does not belong to those living. They still have to receive it and at the time of asking it belongs to a different order of existence. Hence they must give something symbolic, like the life of an animal, before they can expect blessings in return, for the blessings mean life principles or the fullness of life in health and happiness. This conception will assist in understanding the distribution and exchange of gifts during certain ceremonies, as well as the fact that all punishments in native law are



TWO-YEAR-OLD BOY AND MOTHER
A two-year-old boy stops his play for a drink

Photo by Author

based on compensation or retribution in kind. All action according to this conception can be conceived as being bipolar. The action is not satisfactory, it is not an harmonious whole, it is not in fact complete, unless there is reciprocity. This is part of the concept—sympathetic magic, since action on one pole must affect the other pole, viewed as the whole of which the first pole was a part. This idea of reciprocity forms the basis of the native's beliefs. If something leaves his body its value must come back in some symbolic way ; for instance, the burying of the prepuce in the *Abakweta* ceremony and the drinking of ant-heap medicine.

Again, if a product or separated part of the body is subjected to something which would have been harmful if the body was subjected to this something, the body will experience the harm through the medium of the product or separated portion, so that the action on the product or part of the whole is not complete unless it acts on the whole. For instance, natives will under no circumstances urinate on red-hot coals or into a fire, for this will lead to a reciprocal action of soreness of the penis. The stream of urine becomes endowed with the same sensory qualities as the penis. In other words, although it is urine and not living tissue, the effect is interpreted as if the stream of urine is but an extension of the penis endowed with its sensory qualities. It is a form of thinking based entirely on feeling and seems to antedate thinking which implies discrimination of emotional or feeling values.

The opinion has been expressed that the finger amputated belongs to the hand other than the hand of preference, but numbers of left-handed natives, personally examined, had the finger of the left hand amputated. This sacrifice seems to imply that the finger is given from the left or weaker side, so that it may gain in strength. The right side already has all the strength symbolism can provide.

The weaning period takes place when the child is from eighteen months to two years old. Toddlers of this age walk up to their mothers while they are busy crushing mealies or corn and help themselves to the breast. The child is taught as soon as it begins to walk to perform its bladder and bowel functions outside the hut. Slapping the buttocks of the child is the usual corrective procedure. Physical punishment accompanies nearly all forms of correction.

When the child reaches the age of six years, little tasks are allotted to him round about the kraal and strict obedience is demanded of him in this respect. Disobedience to the parents is not tolerated

under any circumstances. As the child grows older his work concerns herding the cattle, sheep and goats and guarding the mealie lands. When the crops are coming on, little spirals of smoke can be seen rising from all over the mealie lands. These fires are made by the boys to ward off evil spirits and to prevent the influence of witchcraft on the crops.

ADOLESCENCE AND SOME SEX CUSTOMS

About the age of twelve years, the boys begin to decorate and dress the sexual organs. The only covering of the entire body apart from ear-rings, brass bangles and a blanket, might be an *isidla*. The latter is a small dried calabash with a hole in it, into which the penis is inserted. It is pulled tight up against the body by means of a string or leather thong, tied round the back in the lumbar region. The decoration and ornamentation of the *isidla* varies. Some have little bells which jingle as they run; others are ornamented with buttons or multicoloured beads as well as brightly polished bits of brass dangling from them. On meeting such a youngster, one's attention is immediately drawn to the dress of his sexual organs. Some of them take a great deal of pains to make the *isidla* as conspicuous as possible. The younger boys may merely use a little leather bag, made like the finger of a glove, as protection for the penis.

The decoration and ornamentation of the *isidla* does not only reflect a sense of masculine pride and exhibitionism in parading the sexual organ in this manner of dress, but it also serves as a form of protection for this sensitive organ. Before puberty the elders are not concerned as to whether a boy wears an *isidla* or not, since the prepuce is considered sufficient covering. After the *Abakweta* ceremony no man must expose the penis, especially the glans penis, and the wearing of the *isidla* is compulsory. They do, of course, wear a little skirt at times, after the style of a kilt, but this is usually reserved for ceremonial occasions and forms a part of the recognized dress of *Amagqira*.

The native adolescent's display of manly qualities are in this respect primarily expressed by means of ornamenting and making the dress of the penis attractive. The girls, before and after the initiation into womanhood or *Intonjane* ceremony, are much attracted by the ornamentation of the boy sweetheart's *isidla*. They are known to give the favourite boy presents of beads and other little ornaments



Photo by Author

A GROUP OF SCHIZOPHRENICS



Photo by Author

UNCIRCUMCISED BOYS WITH *ISIDLA*

to decorate the *isidla*. The young men frequently vie with each other in making the *isidla* as conspicuous and attractive as possible. Hence little brass bells are very popular and highly prized as gifts.

All these customs emphasize the superiority and aggressiveness of the phallic male. His masculinity and procreative abilities are reflected in the ceremonial dress of the penis. One may appreciate this dominant masculinity better when it is realized that a native can marry as many women as he desires, as long as he has the wherewithal to pay *lobola* (the cost of the bride). The native claims that his children are his "Bank". From his daughters come *lobola* cattle and his sons help to cultivate his lands and plant forth the traditions of his kraal. In this is implied the desire to become an ancestor to the future generations and receive thereby their admiration, veneration and affection. To be a grandfather on earth automatically promotes him to the order of ancestral spirits after death. The Tembu and Fingo consider that a woman's task is to bear as many children as possible. Polygamy is thus essential to the fulfilment of the aims of these beliefs and desires. The increase in family leads to an increase in the self-regard of the head of the kraal.

When a native has more than one wife, each wife sleeps for a week with the husband, even if the number of wives is three or four. The nights spent with the husband are taken in rotation. With the exception of the recognized periods of sexual abstinence the natives consider sexual intercourse every night, where possible, a necessity. There is no ritual associated with the sexual act except on the first marriage night. The main concern in the sex psychology of the native is to attain an orgasm as quickly as possible during coitus. The wives have often complained during interviews that the men are only concerned about the gratification of their own desires. Nevertheless, native women are known to indulge in sadistic acts of biting during sexual intercourse.

If there are several wives in a kraal, the first wife rules over the others. The latest-acquired wife does the most menial work about the kraal. The bearing of children brings freedom from the early marriage taboos and raises the status of the inferior new wife. She is therefore keen to have her first two children as soon as possible.

No sexual instructions are given to the boys. They roam about in association with the animals they herd and learn their lessons from these sources and companions. In fact, unnatural sex relations with animals are not at all uncommon at this period. If a boy is observed

in such an act he is punished by corporal punishment. In an adult, of course, it is viewed as a very serious crime.

Masturbatory manipulations of the penis are quite common and may receive a playful rebuke, but are not viewed at all seriously. They are merely considered as the playful activities of children. After the age of fifteen and when nearing the age period (usually eighteen years) for the *Abakweta* ceremony, masturbation in a youngster will create concern if it comes to the notice of the elders, because it will be considered as evidence of immaturity and hence unfitness for the *Abakweta* ceremony.

Masturbation in girls is difficult to ascertain from questioning girls, but wives described pseudo-sexual acts performed during their girlhood days which implied some form of titillation or friction of the vulva. The girls are not instructed in sexual matters, but are frequently warned from an early age by their mothers and grandmothers about the dangers of sexual relations with men, since on the daughters' chastity depends the size of the *lobola*. Emphasis on the fear of consequences is their mainstay in expressing disapproval and in regulating the children's conduct according to the demands of law and custom.

If a girl has been deflowered, or has had a child, her value on the marriage market is indeed low, for the great asset of a daughter is the *lobola* she brings to her family's kraal. For this reason the customary examination of the female sexual organs in girls is instituted from somewhere about twelve years of age, even before the onset of menstruation. As regards menstruation, girls are instructed about this function some time before its onset. This explicit instruction is no doubt the result of custom's declaration of menstruation as an unclean period. In fact, among the pagans, girls are confined to their huts during this time and are not allowed to come in contact with men and boys.

The examination by wives of the sexual organs of girls is an interesting feature in their culture. According to native custom, the mother is required to examine her daughters while at home every three days. After the *Intonjane* ceremonies, *Imitshotsho* dances and wedding celebrations the girls are examined by specially appointed wives, occupying the office of *Nkazanas*. The examination is carried out as follows. The girl is placed on her back in a good light with her legs widely extended. The examining woman merely looks at the vulva; the parts are not examined by hand. These wives main-

tain that where they can see into the vagina and where the labia do not approximate in a natural manner, there penetration has taken place and if the girl is confronted with this finding she will usually confess. It was pointed out to them that such a technique was decidedly defective from a medical point of view. They nevertheless asserted that in spite of what European doctors may think, this is the custom and it functions satisfactorily in practice; because the examining wives and the mothers of the girls have examined particular girls since early girlhood and hence are well acquainted with the shape of the vagina; they would immediately recognize any change not previously present.

METSHA

All these examinations are, of course, necessary on account of the secret and customary practice of *metsha*. The word *metsha* denotes courtship as well as a form of pseudo-sexual intercourse. The latter is performed by facing the girl and placing the penis between the thighs. The Fingos claim that the penis may be brought in close proximity with the female sexual organ without penetration. The Tembu assert that this is definitely not allowed. According to them the penis may only be placed between the thick and soft part of the thighs. One doubts whether this is actually so in practice. Numbers of native girls interviewed on this subject, maintain that the penis is not allowed near the vagina. Naturally there is a difference, even in the pagan, between "thinking" and "doing", so that one may be given the demands of custom as an actual practice but not the individual's own personal experience, especially when this experience does not conform to the rules laid down by custom.

These girls maintain that they obtain gratification by means of *metsha*. One may speculate as to whether this erotic custom has conditioned the inside of the thighs to become erotogenetic zones. The recognition by both parties that they are indulging in this practice as a form of sexual gratification may so heighten the feeling tone in regard to this act that psychic stimulation alone may lead to orgasm in the female.

This practice of *metsha* is performed by boys and girls at an early age and may serve as an early erotic form of hetero-sexual adaptation. It certainly does not, at the prepubertal period, replace masturbation. Some observers and informants place the ages for the beginning of

metsha somewhere about ten or eleven, if not earlier. In fact many native males state they started to *metsha* at such an early age that they could not remember. It is of psychiatric interest that schizophrenic patients frequently declare they never *metsha-d*, when at the same time they are quite frank about other serious forbidden practices. If this is correct, and there seems to be on the whole little evidence to doubt it, then the schizoid personality before the onset of the psychosis refrains from indulging in the customary hetero-sexual adaptations. This would indicate a delay of the early narcissistic phase, generally accepted as a recognized component of schizophrenia.

Indulgence in this practice of *metsha* makes it essential that the daughters be examined every three days as prescribed by native custom. The girls as a rule *metsha* with their lovers. This is not allowed in the huts in the kraal and thus after sunset one observes the lovers roaming over the veld. There does not seem to be any supervision over the girls, for, since they usually sleep in their own hut, they have ample opportunity to sneak away after dark to meet their lovers. The elders do not concern themselves over this for if anything untoward occurs the mother will discover it and the elders of the kraal will deal with the matter according to native custom.

In the big living hut of the parents, the wife sleeps on the side towards which the door opens; that is, the women are always behind the door. The other side is the domain of the man. The daughter-in-law, for instance, in cleaning the hut or on any other occasion, is not allowed to enter the father-in-law's domain while he is in the hut. This taboo denotes respect for the head and she is never released from it. The manner in which the young wife should wear her black cloth head-gear is also laid down by custom. Before the birth of her first child it is tied underneath the chin, covering the head and obscuring the profile. After the birth of the first child she wears it round her head and this she continues to do until after the birth of her second child, when she is allowed to wear it or to leave it off.

In reverting to the attitudes and habits of the parents, it is of interest to learn that the mother and father never cohabit in their hut while the children sleep there. Under such circumstances they go to the store hut for this purpose. The children sleep with the mother up to three or four years of age and thereafter with the grandparents, if they are living in the same kraal, or with older children in a separate hut. It is from this hut that the girls venture out at night to meet their lovers or to attend *Imitshotsho* dances. The parents

maintain that children must never have reason to think that sexual relations occur between the parents. Maybe this implies some intuitive appreciation that such perceptions by children will lead to sexual abnormalities in their conduct. Since this idea was agreed to by elders after it had been presented to them, it cannot be given as their own form of reasoning. It may, of course, solely concern the broad conception of what is meant by respect for the elders, in patriarchal law. There is no doubt that sexual intercourse between parents under circumstances which may be observed by children will seriously undermine the principle maintained by this culture. The traumas that have occurred in the psychic lives of European children from such experiences are well-known to psychiatrists.

The practice of *metsha* is allowed and condemned at the same time. The parents' attitude towards this practice is one of deception. The fathers pretend they know nothing about the nocturnal activities of their daughters. The mothers continually warn them against it and examine them for it and still they are dressed up and allowed by the parents to attend *Intonjane* dances and other celebrations where *metsha* is a customary performance and allowed on such occasions by native law.

The mothers provide instances where conception has occurred as result of *metsha* because semen was deposited too near the vaginal orifice. Hence the warnings against *metsha* serve the purpose of making the girls aware of the danger of allowing the penis near the vulva. Married men also have their sweethearts among unmarried girls. This is a very common practice among the natives. On account of the taboo that a man cannot have sexual intercourse with his wife while the child is not yet weaned, he has recourse to *metsha* with unmarried girl sweethearts or to sexual intercourse with concubines. The wives raise no objection to these extra-marital sexual practices, since they consider it necessary that a man's sexual desires be gratified. The concubines are unmarried girls who have had children, or women who were married but were divorced or discarded by their husbands on account of sterility, or driven from the kraals because they were supposed to be associated with the *Impundulu*, *Tikoloshe* or *Inyoka*. The marital sexual abstinence practised during the weaning period is attributed to the belief that sexual relations with the wife at such a time will poison the milk and be detrimental to the health of the child. Naturally, where the husband has more than one wife, he may not seek a mate for the purpose outside his

kraal. This serves as another instance supporting the need for polygamy in this culture.

A girl prefers to *metsha* only with her lover. The reason given for this singularity of choice is that where she *metshas* with more than one man and pregnancy results, she will find it difficult to prove paternity and obtain the compensation in cattle as allowed by native custom. This, of course, must not be accepted as the actual practice; rather is it a general rule.

A young man who has deflowered or impregnated a girl, is looked askance at by the parents, and their daughters are warned against him. It is said that the girls avoid such a man, for it is possible that he is attributed with powers of witchcraft, or of being in possession of some love medicine. If the wives, on examining a girl, find that she has been penetrated, she is immediately taxed to confess the name of the man and the matter is left in the hands of the elders of the kraal. The man named is informed of the accusation against him. If it turns out that the girl is not pregnant, he is fined from one to three head of cattle, but if the girl becomes pregnant the customary fine is from five to six head of cattle. The girl's statement carries most weight and the man's point of view is given little consideration because he is the aggressive partner and should have complied with tribal laws. The animals paid as compensation must be killed and eaten. They are not allowed to breed from them. The element of similarity in reference to forbidden acts, and in relation to evil, brings in the law of sympathetic magic, for it is believed that the unlawful act will have evil consequences for the young of these animals.

Where a male attempts to *metsha* with a girl by using force, he is severely reprimanded or shamed by the elders if the matter is reported to the girl's parents. Cases are known where vindictive charges of rape were laid against the man after an act of *metsha* with consent. In these cases the man has usually defaulted in his promises of payment or gifts.

FOOD TABOOS

The Tembu and Fingo women are faced with several restrictions or taboos in foods. For instance, a herb called *Msobosobo* (cabbage) is tabooed in the diet of women. It is said to purify the blood as well as having reference to the law which prohibits women from entering the cattle kraal. With reference to the cattle kraal taboo,

it may mean that it is an exclusive diet for men and is associated with masculinity and authority, and if eaten by women would indicate a sign of disrespect for the head of the kraal. Since these taboos are so intricately related merely by some faint similarity in meaning, it may be associated with some aphrodisiac principle, for many of their taboos have reference to this factor. In such a case *Msobosobo* may produce venereal desires in a woman and stimulate her to seek men from other kraals. Such an act is considered to belittle the sexual mastery of the head of the kraal over his wife or wives and thereby diminish the respect and authority he exercises in the community.

Again, most natives keep fowls and yet no native female is allowed to eat an egg. This taboo is rigorously upheld. Eggs are exclusively the diet for men because they are believed by natives to contain powerful aphrodisiac qualities and if eaten by women will drive them to seek men from other kraals. For instance, a recognized sexual advance by a woman is to say, "I shall cook eggs for you."

The similarity in the meaning of certain words, where they are associated with a common symbol, further extends the complexity of the taboos; much of this is implied in the conception of the law of sympathetic magic. To illustrate: no woman is allowed to eat the head and trotters of any animal killed for consumption. The head is considered a great delicacy when cooked with the coals heaped up over it. This taboo explicitly means that the head of the animal belongs to the head of the kraal and if eaten by a woman would indicate a sign of disrespect for the head or owner of the kraal. When the women were asked whether they sometimes desire to eat the head of a sheep prepared in the popular manner, they replied they had no such desire since it was forbidden by law. They seemed afraid to acknowledge any wish that was contrary to custom and tradition.

In days gone by there was a definite taboo against the eating of pork, but this is rapidly dying out. Nevertheless the pig is still associated among pagans with the evil spirits of witchcraft. Children can eat pork because they are innocent and have not sufficient experience of life to be influenced by evil. The elders, especially grandfathers, can eat pork because they have attained wisdom through experience and have finished with evil desires, and hence are immune to evil influences, but the others, who are neither children nor elders, are still prone to the experiences of life that will lay them open to evil influences. Information from law courts shows that thefts of pigs are predominantly committed by boys.

Native women never drink milk during the menstrual periods. In fact native girls in the service of Europeans are horrified when their mistresses take milk during menstruation. They consider it increases the flow, and further that milk consumed at such a time will interfere with the growth of the calf drinking from the cow. The drinking of milk and the eating of meat at the same meal is tabooed during the time a child drinks at the breast because it will stimulate sexual desires.

INCORRIGIBLE BEHAVIOUR IN A SON

Corporal punishment is practically the only form of correction applied in cases of misbehaviour. Mothers administer this form of punishment to their daughters at an age when they are considered women. Intolerance of disobedience finds its expression in the infliction of physical pain. The native is conditioned, as it were, from an early age that disapproval is best expressed by such means.

The elders emphasize five essential points which the child must be taught. These are :

1. He must never refuse to do any work given him by parents or elders. At the *Abakweta* ceremony particular attention is paid to acts of disobedience of which the *mkweta* has been guilty during his childhood years.
2. He must not steal.
3. He must not use disrespectful or bad words towards his elders or parents.
4. He must not tell lies.
5. He must not use bad language towards other people or children.

The violation of any of these five points is considered sufficiently serious to necessitate a caning, although a caning is a refined method of administering physical punishment. Usually it is a sudden clout on the ear followed by blows to the body of anything ready at hand.

Nothing causes more annoyance to the head of the kraal than that the children should allow the cattle into the mealie or corn lands. On such occasions punishment is furiously applied and the children can be seen scattering in all directions.

If a son is incorrigible and flaunts his father's authority, after repeated punishment and warnings, the elders are called together. After deliberations on the son's misdeeds and the methods of correction applied by the father they as a rule first give the delinquent a

lecture on the evils of disobeying tribal traditions and the requirements of law and custom. Apart from the reprimands, they may order corporal punishment and for this purpose, and if the son is in the habit of retaliating, they order that he be given a hiding by a strong man. This treatment may be meted out to a married man because any man is a child to the elders whether he is married or not.

If after this advice, punishment or censure, the son continues to be truculent and disobedient towards his father, the elders again assemble and this time for the purpose of performing the ceremony of driving him from the kraal. This means that he is an outcast and disowned by his people. The ceremony of declaring one an outcast must be accompanied by a sacrifice to the ancestral spirits. Before the person is driven from the kraal a goat is killed and the ear of a dog is cut off and eaten with the goat's meat. The goat is, of course, killed in the recognized manner, stabbing it in the belly and shouting "*Camagu!*" The incorrigible one is told to collect his belongings, take his sheep, goats and cattle (if he has any) and go. The oldest man among the elders gives the last command.

The sacrifice draws the attention of the ancestral spirits to the fact that the elders are upholding the traditions and customs. The ear of the dog is symbolic of their ever-jealous watchfulness that tribal customs should be obeyed. The sacrifice of life is necessary, since the ancestors cannot be called without some expression of subordination and without some gift or effort in that direction. Their dignity demands a sacrifice. Again, to disown one's son is to disturb the relationship implicit in patriarchal law; hence the sacrifice and *camagu* not only ask for forgiveness for this act, but is also a form of assurance that the love of the ancestral spirits will not be lost by such an action. The sacrifice assures the elders of blessings and guardianship, upholds the wisdom of their decisions and exonerates them from anything they might have neglected to do. Some of these incorrigible sons have later been admitted to the hospital as mental defectives or schizophrenics. If the son returns, shows repentance and gives assurance of his future good intentions, he is again accepted as a member of the kraal.

IMITSHOTSHO PARTIES AND DANCES

These dances are usually held during the week-ends and are confined entirely to those boys and girls who have not yet gone

through the *Abakweta* and *Intonjane* ceremonies. The ages of those attending *Imitshotsho* dances range from nine to sixteen years.

These dances are either held at some kraal or other, with the consent of the owner, or the boys and girls may steal away to some quarry after dark and dance there. In the former case the boys select a kraal whose owner is not ill-disposed to *Imitshotsho* dances; at least one who is not stern. Permission to dance is usually repaid by some service. The groups of boys herding the sheep or cattle (a common sight in the Transkei) are responsible for these *Imitshotsho* dances.

Groups of boys armed with their *kieries* (sticks) can be seen roaming over the veld or clustered together on a hill-side, with their extravagantly decorated and ornamented *isidla*. Stick-fights, serious and playful, are common at this age. As they move along, a whole group may be engaged in couples, indulging in this popular native sport. The manipulations of their sticks are indeed clever. The parrying defence and hit movements are at times masterfully executed. So good and quick are the defence movements and foot-work that a body blow is seldom registered.

Their bodies are entirely naked except for anklets of fur or goat hair and the ornamented *isidla*. One stick, the length of about forty-five inches, is grasped in the middle by the left hand, if the boy is right-handed. A piece of blanket is wound round the left hand, where it grasps the stick, into a thick bundle. The stick held in the right hand, of the same length, is held by one extremity. The blows are taken on the left-hand stick and are delivered by the right-hand stick. The blanket bundle tied round the hand and stick serves as the main buffer against the raining blows which are usually delivered with smashing rapidity.

Engaging groups of boys from neighbouring kraals in stick-fights is a common occurrence, at times with serious consequences in the form of fractured arms (especially fore-arms) and skulls. These groups of boys belonging to a kraal, or maybe two or three kraals, usually decide among themselves where they are going to hold an *Imitshotsho* dance. The elders take no hand in these decisions nor do those who have by custom attained manhood and womanhood.

On arriving at the appointed kraal, one boy seeks out the oldest woman of the kraal and asks for a light, a candle or an oil lamp. Once the light is given they are shown to the hut reserved for them. The giving of the light is a tangible form of expressing consent. At first



Photo by Harold Evans

A STICK FIGHT

the girls sit round the walls, sing and clap hands while the boys do the dancing. A native dance starts slowly and swells gradually in sound and action, so after the dance has been in progress some time and as the excitement increases, the girls begin to participate more actively. This dance continues until dawn when they disperse each to his or her own kraal. On travelling through the Transkei on a Sunday morning one sees native youths lying by the road-side fast asleep. Wet or dry weather makes little difference. If, after a night's *Imitshotsho* dancing, the native youth feels tired, he lies down, rolls himself in his blanket and goes to sleep. The girls generally have to be home by sunrise.

Metsha at these parties is the rule. In fact, it is one of the main reasons for holding these dances. Cases of pregnancies are known to have occurred as result of these *Imitshotsho* parties, for anyone who has not gone through the *Abakweta* ceremony is allowed to attend and their ages may range up to twenty years or more.

Stick-fights are the rule and serious injuries are sustained. Thefts are common as well as illegal consumption of kaffir beer, it is said. Hence these *Imitshotsho* dances do not carry the approval of some Native Commissioners. The elders deprecate these dances and boys do not gain permission to have a dance at a kraal where the head is a respected native, but then there are moonlight nights and quarries, as well as elders who do not care whether their daughters or sons are in their huts at night.

The elders may cast a disapproving glance on these *Imitshotsho* dances but they do very little to alter them. Custom seems to allow these parties to exist and thus an outlet is provided as a means of escape from the inferiorities of being classed among the uninitiated and not even being allowed in men's company. It stands to reason that without the supervision of the elders, behaviour at the *Imitshotsho* dance will follow the lines of unbridled impulse, since it is by custom their night, their party and no adult interference, once the party is in progress. It is to be understood that the youngsters will compensate for their exclusion from the many entertainments enjoyed by adults; hence Native Commissioners can better control the situation if they give instructions to the headman and his elders to control and supervise these juvenile gatherings. The furtive manner in which they are held at present is conducive to other forms of delinquency. Prohibiting them entirely in certain areas (as has been done) is in no way a constructive solution, for other substitute forms of

reaction will be found which in turn may give rise to more complex if not greater problems. It is a common practice to prohibit undesirable native customs instead of utilizing the existent machinery in a co-operative manner and changing the face of the custom so as to bring it within that which is not harmful. To obtain these results qualities of leadership, as well as constructive thinking, are necessary.

It is understood that the native will have to shed his customs in the course of his social evolution, but this should rather be a process of growing out of them by gradually changing them to suit the new conditions of his new social orders, than removing or prohibiting them by just but perhaps not wise legal action.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

If an unmarried girl should become pregnant the damages to be paid by the lover are assessed by the elders. If the man chooses to marry the girl he has to pay *lobola* from four to six head of cattle. When only damages are paid and no marriage takes place the child of this illicit union belongs to the father, if he chooses to exercise his claim. No mother in native law can have legal custody of children. The children always belong to some male, either the man who procreated them or the mother's father. The child, however, is not removed from the mother until about three or four years of age.

It frequently happens that the girl becomes pregnant again from the same man. Under such circumstances no further damages are paid in the form of cattle, sheep or goats, but the father of these children is obliged to supply the mother and children with food and clothes. The second child remains the property of the mother's father. Now, if the father of these children decides to marry the woman after two children have been born out of wedlock, he is required to pay about four head of cattle for her and one extra for the second child, the first child being his by his having paid damages in that instance. The unmarried girl who has had a child is known by the name of *Idikazi*.

Should a married woman have a child by another man, the husband, at the advice and direction of the elders, fines this man a few head of cattle. It sometimes happens that the husband feels that the honour of his kraal has been violated; in consequence, the offending wife may be driven from the kraal. This attitude on the part of the husband varies with his status in the community or tribe. On the

whole the act of driving the wife away from the kraal for this offence seems to be rare, since many husbands prefer to claim compensation in the form of cattle ; as one elder remarked, " A slice from the cut loaf is not easily missed." Even though the lover has paid compensation, he has no claim on the child. It remains the ward and property of the woman's husband.

It will be observed that when a woman falls from grace, whether married or unmarried, her status rapidly declines in the community. This becomes more apparent when one takes cognizance of the examination of girls and the fines for compensation in case of defloration or pregnancy as well as of the repeated warnings explicit and those inherent in tribal custom in the high value placed on a virgin on the marriage market. The concern does not seem so much related to tribal morality as to the loss of *lobola* to her family. Because a daughter is an asset in bringing cattle to a kraal, her chastity has a commercial rather than a moral value. Once her commercial value has depreciated through bearing an illegitimate child, her further moral laxity seems to occasion little concern ; so that by the time the second illegitimate child comes along no more damages are demanded ; only support in food and clothes. She is now what is known as a " concubine ", and she becomes a sexual partner to any man willing to pay for her favours. Illegitimate births of children are far more common among detribalized native girls living in towns than among the raw natives in the kraals. The tribal custom serves as a strong inhibiting factor.

In the case of a deserted woman—one whose husband has left her or who has been driven from his kraal or who has left him on account of his behaviour (in the latter instance, the husbands are frequently psychotic)—the native custom demands no damages if she has illegitimate children. These children belong to her father but the man is required to support them in food and clothes. Mention has been made above that a wife may leave her husband on account of his psychotic behaviour. This is of importance to psychiatrists dealing with native mental patients. There must be provocation before a native woman leaves her husband's kraal on her own account. Experience shows that in most cases where they have done so after having been married for some time, the husbands have developed psychoses.

Several cases of male native paranoid patients have been investigated where the main persecutory content of the delusion concerns

some person or persons who instigated his wife into running away to her parents' kraal. Further probing usually brings to light abnormal restrictions placed on her liberty since marriage. As one enquires into the reasons for these restrictions, the irrational motives become apparent. This serves as a valuable guide for placing the onset of the psychotic disturbances and not infrequently it antedates certification and admission to a mental hospital by years.

Native custom makes provision for the child in all disputes, desertions, illegitimate births, etc. If the child is not in the care of the mother, it is taken over by either of the grandparents. The grandparents are, as a rule, much more concerned about their grandchildren than they were about their own children, judging by the rôle these grandparents play in custom and native law. It appears that as soon as grandchildren are born, the grandparents express much affection and kindness for these children and frequently interfere where they consider the parents are unjust in disciplinary measures as well as in their decisions regarding the children.

TWIN BIRTHS AMONG NATIVES

The Tembu and Fingo welcome twins as lucky and consider their birth a special blessing. The opinion has been expressed by elders that they consider twins as a division into two of one original embryo, and since children are a great asset, this must be accepted as a blessing as well as a sign of the husband's fertility and potency. Both these latter qualities are greatly admired by the natives.

When a native woman is pregnant a plant called *Isihlambezo* is planted in a pot. The growth of the plant will indicate the growth of the child *in utero*. Should the plant wither and die it is accepted that the child will be born dead, but if the plant flourishes and grows a thick stem in which fissures appear it is taken as an infallible sign that the woman will give birth to twins. The swelling of the stem of the plant is really the first important sign showing that it is fatter and fuller than normal and similarly the woman will be fuller than normal. I found it impossible to obtain any correlation between a healthy plant and the birth of a live child, or between a swollen stem with fissures and the birth of twins. In any case, no pagan woman doubts the efficiency of this plant indicator.

When twins are born, two trees are planted, called *Naaboom*¹

¹ *Naaboom* = Euphorbia trees.

trees. This is an Afrikaans name. The natives call the tree *Umhlonilo*. The *Naaboom* tree has a milky sap which flows freely at the slightest injury to the tree. These two *Naaboom* trees are planted alongside of each other. Pairs of trees of this nature are frequently seen in the Transkei. There is some vague reference in the planting of these *Naaboom* trees, to the tree spirits, a prevalent belief among East African natives, but as far as could be ascertained this is the only time it appears in Tembu beliefs. It may be a derivation of the belief in tree spirits and acquired by the Tembus in the southward migration of the Bantu peoples. It may have no reference to a spirit existing in a tree at all; in fact the definite and clear belief in survival after death and almost highly developed spiritual conception of their existence strongly contradicts any belief in tree spirits. There are no inconsistencies in this aspect of their thinking, such as allotting two forms of existence to the spirit at the same time. The Tembus themselves openly deny any belief that the spirit lives in the tree. It seems more likely to comprise elements of the law of sympathetic magic in the symbolic similarity and simultaneity of the initiation of the two growth processes; for having started growth about the same time, magical thinking has given them some sort of sympathetic connection and thus brought about some mystic unity between the trees and the twins.

It is the natives' custom to consult the trees about the health of the twins when they are away from home. They frequently tell how one of the trees withered away and died and soon after they heard that the one twin took ill and died on the gold-mines. In view of the fixity and strength of this belief, it is quite possible that should a tree wither somewhat, or perhaps die, the twin, if he has knowledge of this, will similarly become ill and die. The natives firmly believe that should the tree die the twin must die because their lives are bound up together. One can accept this as a belief in a process of dual manifestation of the same life principle or current, expressing unity in duality.

When one of a pair of twins dies, the other is dressed in the dead twin's clothes and laid in the grave for a brief spell before the dead twin is buried. The live twin thus dies a symbolic death, for although they are two separate individuals the native recognizes some affinity which they express as a spiritual unity since the division of the embryo means also the division of the original spirit force. By undergoing a symbolic death, the live twin has lived through the illness of the

deceased one and has even entered its grave. Having gone through the whole procedure it has shared its illness with the dead one. This frees it from a similar fate and the live one can now proceed on life's course, having identified itself with the other's illness and death and thereby severed the cord of unity that bound them together. A similar fate is therefore not expected to befall it. The sympathetic bond between twins as understood in native culture is thus illustrated in the ritualistic burial and symbolic death.

Similarly, if twins are of different sexes, a symbolic circumcision is performed on the girl at the *Abakweta* ceremony. At the *Intonjane* ceremony, the boy twin is placed behind the screen before his sister. He is also required to bathe with her.

GRANDPARENTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

Before proceeding to a description of the *Intonjane* and *Abakweta* ceremonies, it is essential that the rôle which the grandparents play in the native custom and culture be understood. The native children look upon their grandparents as protectors and guardians. They have the wisdom of age and experience and whatever they say or do must be right. The law and current morality of the tribe is expressed through the words, dignity and authority of the elders, and the elders of a kraal consist of the grandparents. The grandparents are the sole dictators, and if they give a decision it must be carried out. It does not matter whether the sons are grown-up, married or not. To the grandparents they are still children since judgments of responsibility concern maturity of experience and maturity of experience can only be attained with age.

The respect for age and for the wisdom which is always associated with age is thus a fairly consistent component of the native's attitude and psychological development. The son consults his grandfather or father before undertaking anything new concerning the cultivation of lands or the management of his home and family. The children are impressed by the fact and teaching from an early age that the grandparents are just and must be treated with reverence.

The grandparents, by their protective kindness towards their grandchildren, enhance this conception which the children have of them. The ideal form of conduct to follow is, therefore, that which carries away the approval of the grandparents. It has frequently been observed during these many interviews with the elders of a

kraal that if the children playing about should create a disturbance and distract the elders in their deliberations, one word from the grandparent sends them scattering into the veld or mealie lands. Absolute obedience is demanded by them on all occasions of their offspring. The bearing of the elders is always quiet and dignified in the presence of their children and grandchildren. On many occasions when the headman had arranged a gathering of the elders in the course of these investigations, the authority wielded by these elders was clearly portrayed.

On warm sunny days these meetings were held at the cattle kraal, and on wet rainy days in a hut specially set aside for this purpose. From over the hills, in the course of the forenoon, lonely horsemen came riding. Dismounting, they shook hands all round. With a salute of the hand and "*Botani!*" (good morning!) for me, they took their seats in a quiet and dignified manner. Pipes were produced, filled and smoked with relish from the plentiful supply of tobacco brought by me for these meetings. There was hardly any conversation except expressing their pleasure at the gifts of tobacco. When all were settled and the pipes were drawing well, the headman rose and announced that the white doctor would address them and give his reasons why he wanted their counsel. When they were quite convinced and their suspicions overcome, as to the white man's interest in their customs and beliefs, the deliberations started. The proceedings were as a rule slow and deliberate; a great deal of interjections and aside discussions went on before uniformity of opinion was expressed. It happened that during the course of these interesting meetings some young men would enter the hut and seat themselves against the wall. If now a question concerning sex cropped up one of the elders would utter a sharp command and the young men would seek the exit as hurriedly as possible. For the elucidation of points of law and custom concerning women the old women of the kraals were invited. If any young and curious girl joined them she was sent about her business with as few words as possible. These occasions fully illustrated the authoritative power wielded by the elders of the kraals.

The *lobola* for the eldest daughter goes to the grandfather on the father's side if he is still alive. The grandfather can divide this *lobola* with his son or keep it all as he is entitled to by native law. All *lobolas* after that, for other daughters, are claimed by the father. If the son has no cattle to pay as *lobola* his father will assist him but

this is always considered a loan and he has to repay. The eldest son is given his *lobola* gratis by his grandfather.

If the son dies his wife and children are cared for by his father if alive; otherwise by his father's eldest brother. All custody of this nature is vested in the male line of descent. Should there be no father or uncle, the eldest brother must assume guardianship.

If a grandfather dies, his property goes to his eldest surviving grandson. The grandfather (or if he is dead, the grand-uncle) gives the important instructions and "warnings", as they call it, at the *Abakweta* ceremony and the grandmothers do the same at the *Intonjane* ceremony for girls. The conditioning of the grandchildren from an early age to the authority of the grandparents and the attitude of the grandparents to the children play an important rôle in the schizophrenic and other psychoses among the natives.

ISIKO LOBULUNGA

The *lobulunga* is the long hair drawn from a cow's tail. This is made into a necklace. The hair is tied to a string made out of the fascia covering the muscles lying next to the spinal cord of an ox, and this necklace spreads like a fan over chest, shoulders and back. The cow from which the *lobulunga* is made is specially consecrated for this purpose. This cow is one of the cattle that go to the bride's new kraal at marriage, but it is never killed and cannot be sold.

The cattle to be killed at marriage-feasts are known as *imputulo*. The consecrated cow is given to the bride by her father and it becomes her property. From its tail-hairs will come the *lobulungas* her daughters will wear. After the cow has had several calves, the father of the bride goes to her kraal and takes back all the cattle with the exception of one cow which he leaves for the purpose of making this charm when required.

The Tembu ceremony of putting on the *lobulunga* is as follows. The necklace is made as described above except that the fascia forming the string must come from the back of an ox expressly killed for the ceremony *Isiko lobulunga*. An aunt of the girl who is to wear this necklace performs the ritualistic movements of putting it round the girl's neck. She approaches the girl and stands facing her, holding the necklace in both hands. She then makes a movement from her towards the girl's head, as if putting it over her head, but withdraws again and pretends to put it on her own head. She then puts it



AN IXHWELE AND HIS GIRL FRIEND
Note Lobulunga round his neck

Photo by Author

over the girl's head and the *lobulunga* rests around her neck. While the aunt is performing this ceremony, those standing around pray to the ancestors, saying: "We have finished on our side and now leave the rest to you." All this is expressed in one word, *Ukunqula*. After this, kaffir beer is drunk, the meat of the slaughtered ox is eaten and the ceremony of *Isiko lobulunga* is over.

Girls wearing the *lobulunga* are as a rule very reticent as to their reasons for wearing it, and the most they will impart is that it is worn for reasons of ill-health. It is not infrequent, on visiting kraals, to see girls and women wearing the *lobulunga*. The older women of the tribes give the following reasons:

1. It is primarily employed in cases of delayed menstruation or irregular menstrual periods with long periods of amenorrhœa.
2. Its second common application is in cases of sterility. In fact, it is frequently put on a bride as a prevention against sterility.

The symbolic meaning of this ceremony of *Isiko lobulunga* now becomes apparent. The spinal muscles of the bull are the muscles by means of which the sexual movements are made possible and are the muscles used for placing the sexual organ in such a position as to deposit semen. Hence it is symbolic of sexual strength and virility.

The cow is a pure and fertile animal and its tail belongs to its hind-quarters, the part closely associated with its fertile reproductive organ. Hence the *lobulunga* is an emblem of "fecundity". The fertile aunt, by moving this necklace to and fro before putting it over the girl's head, transfers in sympathy her fertility on to the girl. It is now left to the ancestral spirits to bless the proceedings and guide the course of procreation. In the native mind there is some association between menstrual irregularities and defective reproductive abilities. It is not common for a girl to be chosen as a bride if she suffers from a menstrual disturbance.

CHAPTER V

PAGAN RITES AND BURIAL SERVICE

THE grandfather is such an esteemed being that his illness or demise is felt by every member of the clan. During his illness his sons come together from their distant kraals to attend to the patriarch. They are there to nurse him, to comply with his wishes and to receive his last instructions. After his death the sons spread the news to the neighbouring kraals that the old man has passed away to join their *Izinyanya*. The uncles are called to the late head's kraal and informed by the eldest son that the head of the kraal is gone. Every face, every action reflects the sombreness of the occasion.

The first duty of the uncles is to inspect the body. After this they proceed quietly in a body to choose the burial place at the cattle kraal. The head of the kraal is usually buried at or inside the gate of the cattle kraal. A new opening is made elsewhere for the entrance and exit of the cattle. Other members of a family are buried in a recognized burial place some distance from the kraal. This place is sacred to the members of that kraal and people belonging to other kraals are not allowed to walk over the graves.

The grave is dug in two portions. First a vertical hole of about four feet in width and six feet deep is dug. From here they tunnel a recess in a horizontal direction for another six feet, making the distance between roof and floor of the tunnel, about three feet. Before the body is interred, all food stored in the cattle kraal must be removed, since the wives are not allowed to partake of this food if it is taken out after the burial. As usual the natives can give no other explanation for this taboo except that it is the custom.

There is some symbolic reference here to Mother Earth. This can perhaps be better comprehended if it is appreciated that death to the pagan means birth into a new life. He is, therefore, placed in his grave in Mother Earth so that she may assist in the birth or emergence into a new existence. The formation of the grave, in the form of a tunnelled chamber, as well as the nature of the burial as symbolic of



A PATRIARCH

Photo by Harold Ewins

the mother's womb, recapitulate the birth process. The food is a product of the fertility of Mother Earth and is stored in a subterranean chamber in Mother Earth, a chamber resembling the grave in so far as it is subterranean, but not in design. The head of the kraal is interred in Mother Earth. Hence both the food and the corpse, once they are inside Mother Earth, become products of Mother Earth and are fused into one symbol, namely product. Thus, to take out the food in the cattle kraal after the burial of the grandfather, is to take out of Mother Earth something which has the same symbolic value as the body of the deceased, for the natives believe that to take out this food and to eat of it after the burial of the head, would be similar to eating the body.

One wonders if this taboo, with its elements of sympathetic magic, based on similarity of symbols, is not to a certain extent also a reaction to early cannibalistic traits, once practised but now only dimly associated with oral activities.

Naturally these are not the only components in this complex taboo since it is primarily directed to the wives. It seems to imply that should the wives partake of this food taken out after the burial, they would be incorporating masculine qualities and hence produce conditions out of harmony with their natural states. At the same time they will interfere with his spiritual evolution into a different sphere. When the above interpretation was presented to a gathering of elders they received it with exclamations of surprise and wanted to know how it was arrived at. They claimed that this is what they feel is implied in their beliefs, for to them the custom is everything. There is really no need to enquire into the reasons for its existence.

The same taboo applies to the fermented milk or calabash milk. After the death of the head, no woman may touch the calabash milk unless it is first handled by the heir of the late head. Here again the one living on earth must sever the association connecting the calabash milk to the deceased. The symbols connoting ownership revert to him and the former associations depart to the spirit of the late head. Unless the heir performs this rite the women cannot partake of this milk.

When the grave is prepared and the food is removed from the cattle kraal, the body is washed by the uncles and sewn into the blankets the man wore during his life. The body is placed on his sleeping-mat and a cow-skin and carried on a stretcher to the cattle kraal. The pall-bearers are the sons and their uncles. The pro-

cession turns inside the cattle kraal and deposits the body at the gate. The eldest present opens the face and two men climb into the first portion of the grave to receive the stretcher with the body which is then pushed into the tunnelled recess. The body faces the late head's hut. One elder remains standing in the grave and gives the following funeral oration: "You have left us but we will remember you and join you where you have gone since it is our desire to follow you." After this, each of the sons throws a stone into the grave saying: "Grandfather you have left us and we are going to follow you". It appears that as soon as a man is a grandfather, his own sons address him as such.

The tunnelled portion or recess, containing the body, is now shut off from the first portion by a stone wall and the rest of the grave is filled up with earth. So the body remains in a subterranean chamber. The wives pay their last tribute by throwing handfuls of earth into the grave. As soon as the grave is filled, everybody shouts "*Camagu!*" meaning here, "Farewell and be blessed!" After the funeral they perform a purification rite by bathing in the river.

On their return, the wives sit near the huts and lament loudly as part of the mortuary rite, while the men sit quietly at the cattle kraal. At times the wives are too loud in their lamentations and the men may request them to express their grief in a more subdued manner, but the wailing and lamentations on the part of the women-folk are necessary in this burial rite and comply with the demands of custom.

A master of ceremonies is elected to thank those who attended the funeral. Of his speech the following is of special significance as to the pagan's conception of death:

"I want you to know that your grandfather has gone to his *Izinyanya*. The way he has gone is the only way. Let us never be afraid to follow his example."

The master of ceremonies instructs the son to choose and kill a goat from the late head's herd. This sacrifice is known as *Ukuhlamba Izandhla* (wash hands) and is symbolic of purification of hearts. It signifies that only those with clean hands have attended the funeral and that no one leaves with evil in his heart.

After the funeral the hut occupied by the late head is shut up and not occupied again. Whether it is merely left as a sign of respect for the late head, or as an abode for his spirit should it desire to come back, is not quite clear. No doubt both views are correct. All over

Tembuland where Tembus dwell one sees these deserted huts, fallen in ruins as the result of disuse and lack of attention. The Fingos destroy the hut after a grandfather's death.

After some weeks have elapsed the sacrificial feast of *Izila* is held and is attended by all members of the family, where possible. Frequent requests are made to the hospital to allow patients out on leave to attend this sacrifice. On the day of the feast, before sunrise, the men proceed to the cattle kraal while the women remain in the huts. One man takes up his position in the centre of the kraal with a *riem*¹ in his hand. Soon one of the deceased grandfather's oxen will leave the rest of the herd and approach the man with the *riem*. It is believed that the spirit of the grandfather selects this ox and that due to the bond of sympathy between this animal and its late master, it offers itself up for the sacrifice and becomes the intermediate link between those living and the spirit of the deceased. *Riems* are tied to its horns and its right hind leg. It is pulled to the centre of the kraal and thrown on its side. The youngest brother of the deceased stabs the animal in its belly with an assegai and as it bellows he shouts, "*Camagu!*" and the others say, "There is your ox. Be at peace with us!" The man with the assegai now quickly stabs the ox between its skull and spinal column, severing the cord and causing immediate death. The ox is eaten by all present except that the *Isipika* and head are eaten by the heir.

After the lapse of some months the new head of the kraal may feel that he has done nothing for his departed ancestor to ensure blessings for his home, cattle and crops. All the members of the family are then called together for an *Intlanganiso* (meeting). This meeting he addresses as follows:

"It has come to me in my dreams that I have done nothing for my ancestor since his departure, so I have called you together to decide whether I should give an *Idini* feast."

If this is agreed upon, preparations are made for the great sacrifice of *Idini*.

The preparations include hand-clapping, dancing and the singing of a special song called *Umhlahlo*. Others cut and collect branches from Olinhout trees and these leafy branches are placed in the centre of the cattle kraal. The ox chosen for the sacrifice is driven into the kraal and as it eats the leaves, an elder ties *riems* round the horns and

¹ *Riem* = South African for a leather thong.

right hind-leg. The ox is pulled to the ground. Should it struggle a great deal, the significance is bad. The quieter and more submissively the beast behaves, the better the omen for the sacrifice. It is implied that the ox must co-operate in the sacrifice. It must be willing to give its life for ancestral blessings for the humans of the kraal as well as the members of its herd.

The head of the kraal stabs the ox in the belly on this occasion and as it bellows with pain they shout, "*Camagu sifuna nisondele nisibonise inzinto endizisayo!*" (Departed spirits, come near and bless our home). The cry of the beast is symbolic of its spirit calling to its owner for help and the ancestor, hearing the cry of distress of his beast, comes back to the kraal to receive its spirit in his care, for he has the same concern for the spirit of the animal as he had for the animal's welfare during his life on earth.

There seems to be some vague connotation that as the flesh of the animal when eaten by man is necessary for his growth, development and life on earth, so the spirit matter of the animal is utilized by the spirit of the deceased ancestor and goes towards the formation of the elements of his spiritual being. This pagan conception, although not understood as such by them, illustrates a view of the indestructibility of matter. If one were to translate this implicit pagan idea of life into scientific terms it could be conceived as meaning that the elements of matter, such as electrons and protons we incorporate into our bodies as food, become by a process of refinement the constituents or the elements forming the structure of our spiritual existence. This conception of the continuity of life and similarity of living processes may have become distorted by the interpretation of magical force and unity.

It is not clear whether the belly of the animal is considered as the home of the animal's soul. Some such idea may have been more explicit at one time. In any case the ritual of stabbing the sacrificed animal in the belly and shouting "*Camagu!*" when it utters the cry of pain, seems to convey the impression that the soul of the animal escapes at that moment. In the procedure of a sacrifice it serves primarily as the method of calling the ancestors' attention to the sacrifice that is being performed for his benefit.

Immediately the animal's right shoulder is skinned the *Isipika* is excised, prepared and served to the elders first, on the green leaves of the branches in the cattle kraal. The *Isipika*, as well as the green leaves, are symbolic of life processes. All these ritualistic practices

support and contribute towards the same conception. The family assembles around the elders and each partakes of a small piece of *Isipika*. At the same time a bucket of kaffir beer is passed round and each takes a sip, starting from the eldest of the elders to the youngest member of the family. This pagan practice has a meaning similar to our Holy Communion. The beer made from the corn and mealies, products of life-giving Mother Earth, is symbolic of the life-giving forces and blessings of that order of existence higher than the *Izinyanya*. While they are partaking of the beer and the *Isipika* they are sharing in these forces of life coming from the higher order and directed to them by their ancestors.

The remains of the communion bucket of beer are taken by the elders and poured out in the centre of the cattle kraal. The centre of the cattle kraal is not only the focus of concentration of ancestral spirits but is synonymous with our conception of an altar. After the pouring out of the communion beer, more beer is brought and consumed with the cooking and eating of special portions of the meat.

At this feast of *Idini* the wives wear skirts made from cow-skin. The girls decorate themselves with white clay and *Imbola*. The elders wear their blankets wrapped round their bodies while the men wear little white skirts reaching to the knees known as *Itshlali*. With the *Itshlali* is worn a long string of beads which hangs down the front and is connected with the *isidla*. This string is called *Undyilo*.

The remaining meat, which is practically the whole of the ox, is placed in the *Isiqebe* hut. The elders appoint four men to sleep in the hut where the meat is kept. They act as mediums and during the night the ancestral spirits will communicate their wishes through them by means of dreams. In the morning the relatives assemble and each of the four mediums will give a detailed description of his dreams. When the dreams have been told they are given cold water to wash with, and a bucket of beer to drink.

The ox is divided into two portions, the right side for the men and the left side for the women. The men cook their meat at the cattle kraal and the women cook theirs at the huts. Sometime in the afternoon, when all the meat is cooked, the eldest male of the kraal addresses the people saying, "Do you know what I have done?" and when they reply "Let us hear what you have done," he continues, "I have made this sacrifice for my ancestors." Immediately he has said this, he calls out aloud the name of his deceased grandfather. A native patient, after his recovery from a psychosis, remarked that he

attributed his insanity entirely to the fact that at the feast of *Idini* he forgot to call out his grandfather's name. He did not hold his grandfather's spirit responsible for this visitation, but considered it a natural result of the neglect to perform an essential rite in the sacrifice. It would appear that it is the highest order that has been affronted, namely that which is called *Umdali*. There is some analogy here to the Israelites' conception of the stern and harsh Jehovah and is synonymous with the child's idea of the father in a setting of patriarchal law.

After this calling out of the deceased grandfather's name, the meat apportioned to the men as well as two buckets of beer are placed in the centre of the cattle kraal. The women-folk sit some distance away from the kraal. The buckets of beer are passed round in a manner similar to the Holy Communion. The women share in the rite except that they partake of the beer outside the cattle kraal. The buckets are returned to the elders, three of whom take the remainder of the communion beer and pour it out in the centre of the kraal, saying, "*Camagu Makulu ningezi kakubi Zinyanya*" (Come near, departed grandfather, and do not come in a wrong manner to this kraal). The three elders then appoint two men known as *Injoli* to divide the meat.

The division of the meat is a complicated affair, since each portion cut is symbolic of something which the natives themselves do not know. For instance, a piece of the breast and the ribs are kept for the elders and this is designated "meat for the men". It may have reference to manly qualities associated with the development of the chest, because each portion has some health-giving power which becomes incorporated in the eater. One must remember that this is consecrated meat and that these qualities were instilled into the meat during the rites and appeal to the *Izinyanya*. The rest of the breast-piece is further divided. One part is given to the cooks and the soft bony part is given to the young undeveloped girls of the kraal, those in whom the secondary sexual characteristics are not yet developed. Another part of the breast-piece called *Iqela* is cut into small portions and distributed to those relatives not resident in the kraal. After these specially consecrated portions are distributed, another and last piece is cut for the elders, called *Umkaka*. The cutting of the *Umkaka* denotes the completion of one phase of the meat distribution, namely the distribution of the consecrated meat.

Next comes the cutting of the *Intsonyama* from the right shoulder,

for the head of the kraal and his eldest son. This means that they are the most suitable people to give the sacrifice, both being direct descendants of the deceased ancestor. The bones from this section must be kept in the *Isigebe* hut not only as relics of the sacrifice but as charms for good fortune and a protection against witchcraft.

When the feasting is over, everybody adjourns to the big or living-hut for the dance. Only the elders are allowed to participate in this dance; the others clap hands and sing the song *Umhlahlo*. The elders pause from time to time during the dance to address the gathering, "As we are happy to-day, so we wish our ancestors to be happy and glad to receive this sacrifice." After this dance all those not related to the family leave. The relatives continue with beer-drinking, singing and praising the head of the kraal for the magnificent sacrifice he has given. This somewhat profuse praise is of special significance because the sacrifice for the ancestors is an anxious time for the head of the kraal, since neglect of any part of the ceremony is sure to bring disaster to his kraal. Therefore the praise, as an expression of approval by the relatives who are the judges, has the psychological effect of suggesting to the head of the kraal that he has done his duty according to custom. The sacrifice thus has an intrinsic suggestive psychotherapeutic value for the head and his family. This is no doubt a reason why ills disappear and optimism prevails after the sacrifice of *Idini*. At sunset those relatives not belonging to the kraal leave for their respective homes, happy and contented, for they have shared in the consecrated meat and beer and are certain of the blessings to come, blessings that will bring good crops, healthy cattle and happiness to their kraals. With joy in their hearts they return early the next morning, for this is the day on which they cook the head and trotters. Besides, more blessings will come as result of this day's ceremony.

The wives have a leg, called *Umemiso* in this sacrifice. The head and trotters are served on the green leaves and beer is passed round from the eldest to the youngest in communion style. After the completion of this repast, the children are sent to the huts while the head of the kraal takes two handfuls of the *Intsipo*, the sediment from the bottom of the beer-barrel. This he spreads in the centre of the cattle-kraal saying, "*Camagu kubemhlope!*" (Ancestors, bless us!) At the finish of this part of the ceremony at the cattle-kraal, the head of the kraal sternly warns anyone who feels intoxicated to leave the kraal and not create a disturbance, since the respected and dignified

ancestors did not tolerate such forms of conduct during their sojourn on earth and it would interfere with their needed presence at that moment. The reverence which is an essential component of this sacrifice prohibits any form of intoxication during its performance. If a man should become intoxicated and refuse to leave, the men-folk will turn on him in a body and thrash him out of the kraal. The head having given these instructions, they all adjourn to the hut for a dance.

This dance is only for the elders and daughters of the kraal. The others join in the hand-clapping and singing of the song *Umyeyezelo* (This is the end of the ceremony.) In this song the one word *Umyeyezelo* is repeated again and again with limited variation in the quality of sound and voices trembling with emotion—soft and loud, soft and loud—fascinating by the splendour of its monotony.

On taking their leave after this dance, the relatives and neighbours again and again praise the head for the magnificent *Idini* feast. After they have gone the head orders four buckets of beer to be brought, one for married men, one for wives, one for the young men and one for the girls. There only remains the burning of the branches brought from the mountains for this feast. These are burned in the cattle-kraal and this last rite concludes the sacrifice of *Idini*.

The mourning rite for a man demands that the widow should throw away all her clothing and don a complete new dress. Since the wardrobe of a pagan or "red-blanket" native woman is very limited, this custom has changed and to-day she only discards her clothes if they are very much worn. This applies equally to a widower. Another requirement is that all surviving members of that family, children and grandchildren, must have their heads shaved.

They give as a reason for throwing away and burning the worn clothes that the couple have slept in together and the clothes have been in contact. Since the dead partner's clothes are buried, the clothes of the living person have some sympathetic connection with those of the dead and hence serve as a medium for attracting the spirit of the dead to the living person. This is considered detrimental to the spirit since it prevented him from living in peace in the realm of the spirits. The spirits of the *Izinyanya* and others should only come back when they desire a sacrifice or when a sacrifice is made for them or when they have something of great importance to impart, for they are living in a world of their own and any force which continually draws them back causes them unhappiness.

The Tembu and Fingo believe implicitly and with great faith in the continuity of life. To them death is but "*Camagu*", "saying Farewell", and so the *Izinyanya* are addressed as "*Camagu*" or "those they said farewell to". The rituals and sacrifices instruct the younger members in this belief. *Camagu* carries the binding force and ritual power as a word. From an early age they are impressed by ritualistic practices that death must never be feared, for death is the only way in which they can join their beloved departed grandfathers. Hence when the signs read by a native's comprehension indicate the inevitability of death, he resigns himself to die and frequently does. European medical men and medical missionaries have remarked how frequently and rapidly a native sinks into death when he believes that he must die. The medical men have remarked on these cases because they could not find a physical cause sufficiently grave to cause death.

Many pagan elders have remarked that they know when they are going to die without having an illness of any sort or without having been confined to bed. The informants described case after case of elders who, while still actively occupied, have died without previous signs of illness. On such occasions it is the custom for the elder to request that an ox or goat be killed and immediately the sacrifice with *Camagu* is made, the elder will give his last instructions, lie down and die. Naturally there are a host of medical conditions that can be held responsible for sudden death, especially at the age of an elder. Of course, we have no grounds for crediting the native mind with knowledge of these conditions; besides, it is not knowledge of the pathological conditions which is the main point in view, but the queer forebodings or anticipations, as well as the stoic and calm acceptance and recognition of this impending feeling, which stamps it as something fitting to the pagan mind of the native.

The question arises: has this type of mind with its emotional development and system of beliefs some sensitivity, some feeling state, which can anticipate death? A feeling state, maybe, which the European, nursed on materialistic culture, has shed centuries ago? If what these doctors have observed is the truth, then a rational explanation based on our knowledge of mind would be that the native died as result of his own beliefs. The suggestive influences favouring death could not have been effective without the receptive state of mind conditioned by custom, belief and ritualistic practice.

Having given this explanation we lean back in the arm-chairs of

scientific knowledge very contented with ourselves. The native dies by faith, a faith which to him is the realization of a spiritual reality. Does our explanation cover this reality or does it merely describe a few of the elements or constituent parts of this spiritual perception? Is not the psychological state of this native, as well as many mental phenomena functioning outside the respected and limited categories of science, a challenge to us to extend the boundaries of our scientific fields and include in the study of the living the mysteries of death? If it were possible to ascertain the degree and intensity of faith in immortality one would be hard put to find any one to equal the faith of the pagan Tembu or Fingo.

Christianity has to a certain extent influenced pagan conceptions, for the abode of the ancestors is frequently given as "with God" or "in heaven". Others assert that "heaven" is a Christian word and they do not know whether it means the same in their conception of the abode of their ancestors. Anyway, their ancestors live in an invisible place; it may not be far away. One *iggira* said there were several states of existence for the spirits of the departed. Some are very far, some are nearer, some are very happy, others again are worried and restless and can be seen by *amaggira* roaming about their kraals. The latter they call bad spirits. Of course no native believes that his ancestors are among the bad spirits.

UMTENDELEKO

We have observed the similarity in symbolism and meaning existing between pagan practices of the Tembus and the Holy Communion of the Christian Church. There are some who hold that the Holy Communion, as witnessed in the Church to-day, is derived from early pagan practices and was incorporated at the time of the formulation of the Christian Faith. The Tembus' pagan worship as portrayed in the ceremony of *Umtendeleko* provides material for those interested in the derivation of these religious practices.

This pagan religious service is performed on a mountain where there is a natural spring. This form of worship is not for the ancestors but for *Umdali*, their name for the Creator. As previously mentioned they have no name for "God" but use a synonym *Umdali* which is translated literally as "Creator". At one time the leader at this service acting in the capacity of a priest had to be of royal blood. Nowadays these services are conducted by native preachers of the

Gospel in the district or location. It is of interest that leaders and adherents of the Christian Faith, be they Methodist or any other denomination, on such occasions conduct pagan services practised by these people since the beginning of their culture. There is a common ambition among detribalized natives and others to act as preachers of the Gospel to their fellows, but this organization of mind according to Christian ideals is supported by a deep dynamic layer of pagan beliefs. Preaching and guiding his human flock sublimates the hidden ambitions to fulfil the rôle of a patriarch and identify him with those unconscious pagan emotions of reverence for his forbears. The admiration and submission displayed by his congregation stimulate his feelings of superiority and leadership and complete the identification of his unconscious pagan ideals with the reverence enjoyed by his ancestors. The native preacher of the Gospel who conducts the services for the native patients in the hospital, speaks in words pregnant with emotion, words meant to awaken feelings of compassion, as if he could by the power of words penetrate the dull and indifferent exteriors of deteriorating minds. It seems as if he must, with tears streaming down his cheeks and by the force of his inner convictions, penetrate the barrier and bring mental life and response to the mentally lifeless. He is indeed absorbed in the emotions of the purpose. The pagans claim with feelings of pride that the prayers of school natives (as they call those wearing European clothes and who have had schooling) are not so effective as the prayers delivered in forms of pagan worship, because their faith is stronger. Besides, they fulfil those customs which find favour with their intercessors, the ancestors.

The service of *Umtendeleko* is their supreme form of worship and they give many instances proving the effectiveness of their prayers at this service. The *Umtendeleko* is held during periods of prolonged drought, or disease epidemics among humans or animals. Only adults are allowed to attend this service but the person must be free of sin. There must be no ill-feeling against him and he must not be guilty of the violation of any tribal custom or tradition for some time prior to the service of *Umtendeleko*. A week's sanctification is required before the service can be held. During this period the men and women are not allowed to sleep together or have sexual intercourse, nor quarrel or fight or be unfriendly towards anyone. Their whole attention must be on the service to be held and with pure hearts and love for their fellow-men they await the day of worship.

The beer for this occasion is made from the water of the spring where the service is to be held. The old women of the kraals fetch the water and brew the beer. The old women are chosen for brewing this consecrated beer because at their age they are free of evil desires. The beer consumed at sacrifices, as on this occasion, is made from the first ripe corn of the harvest which is reserved especially for the sacrifices of *Umtendeleko*, *Izila* and *Idini*. It is a common sight to see bundles of corn-stalks tied together and stuck in the thatch inside the *Isigebe* and living-huts.

The beer is brewed at the kraal of the preacher or leader. As soon as the old women arrive with the water, all those intending to participate in the service bring their contributions of consecrated kaffir corn to this kraal. Some of the corn is boiled, to be eaten at the performance of the rite. When the beer is ready for consumption they all congregate at the leader's kraal, dressed in garments made of skins. The old women who fetched the water and brewed the beer now carry the beer and the boiled corn. The procession is timed to reach the place of worship shortly before noon. On arrival the men and women wash their bodies with water from the spring as a purification rite. They then form in rows, the men in front and the women in the rear. The leader takes up his position a little distance in front of the men and addresses them as follows :

“ Do you people know what we are here for ? We have come here to ask for rain. Therefore every one of you assembled here must think and desire in your hearts that *Umdali* may have pity on us and grant us our prayers.”

After his prayer they sing a song :

“ Please *Umdali* hear our prayers as you have heard and granted the prayers of our ancestors who, through many long years now gone, have prayed in this manner to you.”

From time to time the singing will stop while an elder offers a fervent appeal to *Umdali* to grant their prayers. When the leader closes the service, he tells them not to be despondent but to come again, for *Umdali* will respond to their prayers as he did in the days gone by to those of their ancestors.

Each of them now deposits two white beads in the hands of the leader saying, “ *Camagu!* May our prayers be heard ! ” These beads are kept by the leader for the next occasion. After this rite

each person is given a handful of boiled corn in a little grass-woven bowl. This is eaten and then little cans of consecrated beer are served. When they have all partaken of this form of sacrament the leader again addresses them saying :

“ You must never be impatient and expect immediate answers to your prayers, for what we have asked for is not ours and thus we must continue to ask and to wait patiently until *Umdali* grants us our prayers.”

They may come again for several days in succession, but they only partake of beer and corn on the first day of worship.

UKUBELWA (TO TAKE FROM THE LANDS BY STEALTH)

Among the Tembu there are several ceremonies associated with the ripening of the crops and the harvesting. The ceremony of *Ukubelwa* is performed as soon as the crops are ready for consumption and these consist of mealies, kaffir corn, pumpkins and *imfe*. The *imfe* is a miniature sugar-cane, thin of stem and very similar to the kaffir corn except that it has a sweet juicy stem. When it is observed that some products of the land are ready for use, the head of the kraal and his first wife visit the crops to *Hlola* (to peep or inspect by stealth). This visit is made secretly, for others must not know that his crops are ripening. If they do and their crops are not ready, they might help themselves to his. The man picks an *imfe* and they masticate the stem, swallow the juice and bury the cud. He points out eight mealie cobs for his wife to pick. These mealie cobs are cooked for the men. They also collect the tips of the pumpkin runners and these are cooked for the women of the kraal and called *Amaboloza*.

While they peel the coverings off the *imfe* stem they say *Zilangalizayo* (May we have crops next season). Some *imfe* stems are taken home for those at the kraal to eat, during which they say *Zilangalizayo*. Where there are children too young to speak, the mother puts the *imfe* in the child's mouth, then taps its knees with it and masticates it herself, saying *Zilangalizayo*. The heads of the *imfes* containing the seeds are kept in the thatch of the hut to be sown the following season.

On the following day, the wife goes alone to the lands and picks ten mealie cobs, ten *imfes* and some pumpkin runner tips and small

pumpkins. From the green mealies a special and very tasty sweetish bread is made called *ingixi*. The *ingixi* should find a very popular place on the European table. It is made as follows: First the green mealies are made into a paste to which is added sprouted kaffir corn, also in the form of a paste. These are thoroughly mixed until more or less the consistency of dough. This is made into balls and covered with the green leaves of the mealie cob. A little water is put into the pot and over this are placed the sweet stems of the *imfes*. The balls of dough rolled in the leaves are placed on the *imfe*-stems and it is cooked with the lid on. European women who wish something novel for their tea-parties should try the *ingixi*.

All the food so far prepared from the crops is eaten only by the elders. As soon as all the crops are ready for consumption the boys and girls (uninitiated) take a hand in the harvest festivities. All the boys and girls receive green mealies and pumpkins from their parents. Loaded with these first-fruits of the lands, they proceed *en masse*, a laughing, chattering, jolly crowd, to the chief's kraal, or if there is no chief in the district then to the kraal of one who is of royal blood. The girls carry the food-stuffs and the boys indulge in running stick fights. The clash-clash of the *kieries*,¹ with shouts of exhilaration, accompanies the procession.

This ceremony of *Ulibo* is a great occasion for the youngsters. As the crops are fresh and young, so those of tender ages open the festivities with dance and song; again the symbolism of balance and similarity between the two poles, young crops—young people. On arrival at the chief's kraal they dance and sing the songs of *Ulibo* while the pumpkins and mealies are cooking. They dance throughout the first night and, when the first supply of food is finished, the mothers gather more at sunset and the girls collect the mealies and pumpkins to provide food for a whole week of dancing and singing at the chief's kraal. During meals, the girls eat in the huts while the boys have their food at the cattle kraal.

Towards the end of the week the owner of the kraal or chief, as the case may be, kills a sheep or two for them, *Ukupuma Kolibo*. After eating plenty of meat and before leaving for their respective kraals the boys and girls file past the owner of the kraal and deposit gifts of money in front of him and his elder councillors. These gifts range from sixpences to shillings.

Some weeks elapse until the crops are ripe and now the elders,

¹ *Kierie* = a stick used for walking, offensive and defensive purposes.

male and female, gather at the chief's kraal, each bringing ripe corn and mealies. This is called *Ulibo lwabantu abakulu* (the *ulibo* for the elders). They brew beer and dance *Inilombe ulibo* (the dance of *ulibo*). This continues for three days, after which they ask for the way home. "Asking for the way home" is the native's way of announcing his departure.

During the *Ulibo* for the elders, they sing three songs, each having a definite meaning and purpose denoting the stage of the ceremony. The first, *Umhlahlo*, is the song which appeals to the ancestors and attracts them to the feast. The second, *Ngqunge*, is an expression of joy for the presence of the ancestors and happiness at the success of the new crops. The third, *Umyeyezelo*, indicates the termination of the festivities. At the end of the third song the chief addresses them as follows :

"*Ndiyani bulela bantwana bam lemi zi asiyoyetu yeyamanyange. Ndiyakwenzelelwa nini ukuze ndibe nzima.*" [May you always continue to perform these ceremonies since these kraals do not belong to us but to others (ancestors and *Umdali*). This honour you have done to me makes others respect me.]

THE FEAST OF IWONGA

This feast is held after the harvest is gathered in. The elders again foregather at the chief's kraal, each bringing the required materials for the brewing of the beer. The main topic at this gathering concerns the harvest, and they indulge in a fair amount of boasting when discussing their respective crops. After dancing and singing as before, the chief kills two oxen. This is a *Camagu* sacrifice and the *Isipika* is eaten by the chief and his elders. In their songs at this sacrifice they thank *Umdali* for giving them such a good chief, for if the chief is good to his people *Umdali* will bless their crops.

After this sacrifice given by the chief the elders of each kraal present him with grain and this varies according to the size of his crop.

UTYWALA BEMBEYU

This beer feast is to influence the growth of the crops. The beer on this occasion is made from the surplus seed after the lands have been sown and ploughed, as the seed left over is tabooed as food. One

can be assured that the owner will see to it that there is a surplus. Each kraal brews this beer in turn and specially appointed men or tasters are sent by the chief to taste the beer at each kraal and a drumful of the best beer is taken to the chief.

CHAPTER VI

ABAKWETA OR THE MALE INITIATION CEREMONY

THIS is the most important epoch in the life of the native living in the kraals. It marks his transition from childhood into manhood. As death is a promotion to a higher sphere of existence, so this is a promotion to a higher state of responsibility. From this ceremony he must emerge a man, bereft of all signs of immaturity. During the process of the ceremony he is taught by his instructors the inner mysteries of the pagan practices; their laws and customs and the forms of conduct demanded by man's estate. He is expected to conform, after completion of this ceremony, to the ideal man for this is his second birth.

In this pagan culture there is an implicit conception of three birth processes. The first is birth into the world as an infant; the second, the symbolic birth into manhood or womanhood by the *Abakweta* and *Intonjane* ceremonies; the third is birth into the spiritual world by means of death. Each must be a stage of promotion, and so ceremonial instruction must see to it that the person at each stage rises above his dead self.

The *Abakweta* ceremonies are held in Autumn and Spring but are dependent on the state of the crops. During drought periods, coupled with failing crops, *Abakweta* ceremonies are postponed until such time as the crops are plentiful. The ceremonies falling due in Autumn are held in abeyance until the elders are assured of successful crops, since well-filled stores are essential for the performance of this ceremony. The ceremonies to be held in the Spring are again dependent on an abundant early rainfall and a sufficient quantity of food from the winter harvests.

The boy, as a rule, must first express his desire to be initiated. It is an accepted custom that the first request for initiation must come from the boy himself. The father may indicate in an indirect manner that "it would be a good year for the *Abakweta* ceremony", but he refrains from suggesting that it is his desire that the boy be initiated.

This attitude on the part of the father is of importance when one considers the psychiatric implications of this ceremony.

The age period for initiation varies according to the health, physique and maturity of the personality, as well as the ability to carry a man's responsibilities. The basic age on the whole is eighteen years and the maximum age twenty-six years. Few are initiated after twenty years of age. *Mkweta* is the name employed for the boy while he is still in the process of undergoing the ceremony. At a certain stage of the proceedings this name is changed to *irwala*. The plural of *mkweta* is *abakweta* and the plural of *irwala* is *amarwala*.

The length of duration of the ceremony depends on the season in which it is held and upon the extent of the food supply. For instance, the Autumn ceremonies last about three months while the Spring ceremonies may continue up to twelve months.

To understand this ceremony intelligently it is necessary that its various phases be placed under captions, each denoting a particular phase.

SELECTION OF OFFICIALS

1. "*Isutu*" (*Advisor*).

Weeks prior to the commencement of the ceremony a meeting is held by the fathers who have sons to be initiated. At this meeting all arrangements are made and the officials are chosen. One man is appointed to act as father to the *abakweta*. He is called the *isutu*. He has sole control over the boys going through the ceremony and his son is more honoured than any of the other *abakweta*.

The *isutu* fulfils the most important office in this ceremony. He arranges what is to be done during the ceremony and gives advice to all concerned in the performance of the rites. He has to be consulted on everything and rules the ceremony. The office of *isutu* is usually filled by one of the most outstanding men in the community.

2. "*Incibi*" (*Operator*).

The next office to be filled is that of *incibi*, the operator, more commonly known as the expert. A necessary qualification for an *incibi* is that he should have dreamt that he circumcised boys; after which he must have acquired experience by circumcising his own relatives before he is allowed to circumcise others. This dream



Photo by Author

ABAKWETA AND KANKATA

indicates that he has been selected by the *Izinyanya* and that his work will be blessed.

The *incibi* must be a man of excellent character and respected by the people. The elders are extremely careful in the selection of an *incibi* for sympathetic magic plays a formidable rôle in this ceremony. In consequence, before a man is elected as *incibi*, inquiries are made as to the results of his previous circumcisions; whether the men are alive, the state of their health and whether they have become good law-abiding citizens. Should any of them have been to prison or be vagrants and tramps, such a one is certainly not given the post.

It happens at times that all the parents are not in favour of a certain *incibi* and under these circumstances two *incibis* are elected and each is allotted his own special group of patients. Such a meeting provides the opportunity for anyone having a complaint against the *incibi* to lodge it before the elders. It is for the elders to decide whether they should debar the man from assuming the important office of *incibi*.

When a chief's son is initiated more than one *incibi* is always appointed. The reason for this is the large number of *abakweta* available at the time of the initiation of a chief's son. In such circumstances the number may total anything from twenty to eighty *abakweta*. As soon as a chief's son is about seventeen years of age all *abakweta* ceremonies are postponed until the time when he is of age for initiation. They consider it a great honour to make their "debut" to the world as men in company with the chief's son. Hence the large numbers.

3. "*Amakankata*" (*Nurses, guards or instructors*).

After the office of *incibi* has been filled the *amakankata* are elected (singular, *kankata*). These are of three ranks, the chief *kankata*, the senior *kankata* and the junior *kankata*, in order of responsibility and control over the boys. The number of *amakankata* varies according to the number of *abakweta*. There may be as many as eight *amakankata*, two of whom will be chiefs, two or three seniors and the rest juniors; or there may only be one *kankata* if the number of *abakweta* is two or three. Their duties are to care for the *abakweta*, guard them, dress their wounds and teach them the laws and customs of the people as well as the lessons of manhood.

The *amakankata* must be men held in great respect in the community since their office is much coveted. Should any of his previous charges have committed a crime during the course of the ceremony,

that *kankata* will never be elected again. One of the essentials required of the *amakankata* is that they have a sound knowledge of native laws and customs.

PREPARATION OF KAROSSES AND BREWING OF BEER

As the time for the ceremony draws near each family having an initiate is occupied with the task of drying and curing sheep-skins for making the sheep-skin kaross to be worn by the *mkweta*. One skin is made into leather for supporting the penis after the operation.

The preparations also include the brewing of beer which is made as follows: The kaffir corn or maize is soaked in water until it swells. After this it is taken out, covered, kept warm and left to germinate. As soon as the first sprouts appear the corn is spread out in the sun to dry. When dry they grind it and the ground corn is put into barrels of hot water. Mealie meal is now added and the contents of the barrel thoroughly stirred. The mixture is left to ferment while a woman constantly tastes it to ascertain how it is progressing. After fermentation has set in, the wives pour the liquor into pots and boil it into a gruel. It is allowed to cool and is then poured into barrels, and ground, sun-dried germinated corn is added. The mixture is again stirred, covered and left to ferment for three days when the beer will be at its best for drinking.

It was learned that natives in town locations add sugar to a well-known brand of South African grape juice and a highly intoxicating liquor results.

CUTTING AND COLLECTING BUILDING MATERIALS

A day or two before the actual circumcision rite, the lads to be initiated, under the command of the junior *kankata*, cut and gather flexible sticks and poles for the building of the *mkweta* hut. These are tied into bundles and hidden somewhere in the vicinity of the site where the hut is to be built. The number of huts varies according to the number of *abakweta*. As a rule they are housed ten to a hut.

Having brought and hidden the building material they are taken on another expedition in quest of the special herbal dressings required for their wounds. The dressings, which are applied immediately after the operation, consist of the sheaths of a bulb called *swadi*. This bulb peels off like a dry onion but the sheaths are much smoother,

more velvety and softer than those of an onion. Fear of witchcraft necessitates that these articles also be hidden near to the building site.

DANCE AND STICK FIGHTS

The customary days set aside for the actual circumcision are Mondays and Tuesdays and the boys are circumcised at the time of the new moon.

The night prior to the operation the boys and girls have a dance somewhat similar to the *imitshotsho* dance except that on this occasion the preparations are made by the elders and the dance is the overture to the *abakweta* ceremony. Besides this it gives them the opportunity of saying good-bye to their sweethearts.

The singing and dancing continue through the night and the following morning at dawn the wild and exultant impulses are given free play in stick fights among themselves. This is allowed by custom, no doubt with the object of increasing their courage and daring before the circumcision rite. The sweethearts look on and each boy tries his best to find favour in her eyes and to prove his ability to enter man's estate. Severe injuries may be sustained. On one occasion I had to set a fractured tibia, the result of such a fight.

If a chief's son is to be initiated, the customary stick fight among the boys is replaced by something more warlike and spectacular. On such an occasion the chief's son sends out a challenge for a fight to another chief's son or to another location. The opponents are usually *abakweta* of different tribes: Xosa against Tembu or Fingo. The chief's son sets out with those to be initiated, to meet his opponents. They are armed with sticks, shields and assegais. When the two sides meet there is a terrific battle, accentuated by the din of war-cries and clashing sticks. The battle only ends when one side takes to flight. There are occasions when boys have been killed in these *abakweta* fights. Others may be so badly injured that they are not allowed to go through the ceremony.

THE BUILDING OF THE *MKWETA* HUT AND THE *UMNGCAMA* SACRIFICE

After the stick fight the boys, accompanied by the junior *kankata*, bring the building materials they hid on the previous day to the building site. When this task is completed, each boy returns to his

family kraal where he is not allowed to enter the huts but must stay in the cattle-kraal.

The *mkweta* hut is built at an unfrequented spot previously selected near a spring, stream or river. The site is one where women are not likely to come for water and where they cannot easily be seen by passers-by. The site is kept for all subsequent *mkweta* huts but no new hut is ever erected on an old foundation since the *abakweta* are starting new lives and nothing old must be incorporated in the change of personality. The foundations of the old huts might have become a burial place for evil medicines by some designing practitioner of sorcery.

The only persons who have knowledge of the actual site before building is commenced are the fathers of the *abakweta*, the *isutu*, *incibi* and *amakankata*. The men build the framework while the women are out cutting the grass for thatching. No clay is used in the construction of these huts. They are built exclusively of grass and sticks.

As soon as the framework is constructed a man appears on a hill and is seen by the women. He stands there, a silent figure against the sky-line, and the wives know that the men have finished their task. As soon as the figure disappears the women bring the grass and proceed to thatch the hut. Due to the many helping hands this is soon completed. As they put the finishing touches to their work they sing the song, *Umyeyerelo*, meaning, "The hut is finished". This again is a signal to the men, who are waiting for the singing. This song tells them that the women are returning home.

"Umngcama" (First sacrifice)

While the *mkweta* on reaching his home is waiting in the cattle-kraal, a goat is killed and this is a *Camagu* sacrifice asking for blessings for the *mkweta* and ensuring that he has their protection against evil during the ceremony.

While they are skinning the animal others shave the hair from the *mkweta's* body. He has to bury this hair, unknown to anyone, either in the cattle-kraal (the usual place) or out on the veld. This shaving of the *mkweta* is a symbolic preparation for the rebirth of his personality which is expected to occur as a result of the *Abakweta* ceremony. The preparation of the body embraces that of the mind.

As soon as the *Isipika* is prepared, it is thrown on the dry manure in the cattle-kraal whence the *mkweta* picks it up and eats it. This humility is necessary for the reception of blessing. The left half of

the animal is eaten by the women on their return from thatching the hut. The right hind-leg the *kankata* takes with him to the *mkweta* hut (also known as the *isutu's kraal*).

It will be observed that in this sacrifice the *Isipika* is not fed to the *mkweta*. After the circumcision rite all *abakweta* are fed like small children by the *amakankata* until after the third sacrifice. The meat is fed to them on sticks, and for other foods wooden spoons are used. After the circumcision rite the *amakankata* "do the rounds" of all the kraals and collect the right hind-legs of the sacrificed animals as meat for the *abakweta*.

The ribs, head and trotters are eaten by the men who built the framework of the hut. One of the *amakankata* always supervises the *Umngcama* sacrifice and the boys are taken from one kraal to the other until each has partaken of the *Umngcama* sacrifice.

Having had his *Isipika* the *mkweta* is given the rest of the right shoulder of the animal as well as a dish of whole mealies and milk. While he is eating this food in the cattle-kraal, friends and relatives gather round to annoy and tease him. They remind him of all his misdeeds as a boy and further impress it upon him that they have been saving up for this day to repay him with a sound thrashing for his childhood disobedience. One will say, "Do you remember the day I told you to fetch the cows and you disobeyed me? Well, in a few days' time I am going to take it out of your hide." These are never mere idle threats, because they have the right according to custom to beat the *mkweta* for any disobedience of the past towards an older person.

The *incibi* is also present during these proceedings but he sits some distance apart. His recognized pose for this occasion is impatience and anger. The boy must be impressed that the *incibi* is not a man to be trifled with and that he means business. The rest of the men eat their meat and drink beer while they wait for the *mkweta* to finish his meat.

The leather belt to support his circumcised penis is placed around his waist and a cow-hair necklace (*ubulunga*) is placed round his neck. The *ubulunga* is not only a charm against evil, but since it comes from the cow, the emblem of purity, it is believed that the *ubulunga* will bring him health and virility and ensure his potency when a man.

As soon as he has finished his meal he takes his kaross and, in company with the *incibi*, *kankata* and friends, proceeds to call for the other *abakweta* on the way to the *Mkweta* hut.

The women, on leaving the *Mkweta* hut after the thatching, travel in the opposite direction to which the men are expected to arrive, so that they do not meet. Their singing tells the men of their whereabouts from time to time. The *abakweta* from now on must not be seen by wives, and so they continually dodge the women. It was always interesting to see *abakweta* pass a kraal after the ceremony when they were allowed to roam about. They would pull their karosses over their heads and look the other way. They are allowed, however, during this time to converse with girls. *Metsha* is forbidden but it is believed to take place since it is not considered a sin but merely a form of indecency.

The *incibi* and *amakankata* are not allowed to sleep or have sexual relations with women from two or three days prior to the actual circumcision until after the third sacrifice, which covers a seventeen days' period of sexual abstinence. This illustrates the fear of contagion by means of sympathetic magic, for any sexual act committed by them during this period will have a reciprocal reaction with erection on the *abakweta*. Furthermore they will bring the sexual influence or aura of wives into the *mkweta* hut and interfere with the *abakwetas'* weaning from their mothers.

The *incibi*, *amakankata* and *abakweta*, having collected the *isutu's* son, now proceed to the river for the purification ceremony. They walk in a quiet and dignified manner. There is no running, no hurry and no noise. As a rule several men on horseback accompany them, in case a boy should become faint-hearted and try to bolt. This show of force is merely to intimidate them and to show them that they cannot behave like children and withdraw when a situation appears unpleasant. Should a boy refuse to go on with the ceremony at this stage, however, he is not coerced but has to wait until such time as he has sufficient manly courage to face the ordeal unflinchingly. The *incibi* keeps his assegai hidden under his blanket and it is not seen by the boys until the actual operation.

While the boys go to the river, the fathers remain leisurely smoking at the *Mkweta* hut.

THE PURIFICATION RITE AND CONFESSION

At the water's edge the boys sit down and cool themselves while the *incibi*, leaving his blanket and assegai on the bank, enters the water and splashes it over his face, shoulders and arms. The boys then

enter the water also and while splashing themselves confess aloud all their past misdeeds. No matter what the disgrace might have been, here it must be confessed. Hardened *amakankata* are at times astonished at the confessions of misdeeds they never suspected. Should a boy at this time withhold anything of his past sins from the water confessions, his wound will not heal and other misfortunes will befall him.

This confession is meant for *Umdali* but through the medium of the *Abantubomlambo*, who are regarded as guardians of justice and morality under the patriarchal laws. Hence, by means of this confession, they atone for their sins against law and custom, and prevent themselves from being called to the river to expiate their sins. The interesting symbolism of this rite will be dealt with later; suffice it here to observe the similarity in pagan confessional rites and the confessions accepted by the Church: at least a similarity which may mean a common origin.

Should a boy have a twin sister she is required to submit to the same water rite, with the exception that she bathes some distance downstream. If she were to bathe above the boys in the stream it would defile the water since she is a woman and belongs to the "left" or inferior realm.

As soon as the water rite is over they are taken back to the *Mkweta* hut. On the way they collect the dressings of *swadi* bulbs which were hidden the day before. While the boys have been at the river, the junior *kankata* has remained on guard at the *Mkweta* hut, as the hut is not to be left unguarded from the moment building commences.

CIRCUMCISION OPERATION AND RITES

About thirty yards from the *Mkweta* hut the boys sit down in a row, each in his kaross. Should there be a twin sister she sits with her brother in his kaross. The *incibi* walks up to her while she sits with her legs apart. He seizes an imaginary prepuce, performs a to-and-fro movement with the assegai and her symbolic circumcision is over. After this she leaves immediately. It appears that not only does this indicate a belief in the affinity of a spiritual nature between twins, but the girl is assumed to have similar sexual qualities to the brother and the boy to have qualities similar to the sister. Each is credited with a mixture of male and female sexual attributes.

The real circumcision rite is now begun. The *mkweta* to be

circumcised first is chosen by the fathers. The *isutu's* son is second. He cannot be circumcised first as the rust on the assegai (should there be any) may not be cleaned on him.

The fathers of the *abakweta* sit a little distance away while the *incibi* is operating. He starts from the right-hand side of the row and works towards the left. He takes the prepuce in his left hand while the boy sits in his kaross with his legs apart, and with a to-and-fro movement of the assegai he amputates the prepuce. During this operation the boy is under constant scrutinizing observation for the slightest movement of limbs and facial expression. If he shows signs of fear before the *incibi* operates, in the form of nervous movements, he is thrown out and must wait another year.

As soon as the prepuce is severed the *incibi* says, "*Yiti uyindoda*" (You are a man), and the *mkweta* answers, "*Ndiyi ndoda*" (I am a man). The *incibi* wipes the assegai on the boy's kaross and hands him his prepuce which he promptly ties inside his kaross. All blood must drip inside the kaross. No blood is allowed to drip on the ground out of fear for witchcraft, for anything unpleasant happening to the blood will harm the penis. The blood is still part of the whole and falls under the same fear of sympathetic magic influences as urinating on a fire.

The *isutu's* son is operated on next and so on until the last one is circumcised. When the *incibi* comes to a relative he taps him on the head with the assegai, wishing him "Good luck".

The *amakankata* apply the dressing of the *swadi* bulb immediately the boys are circumcised. Each boy is shown his particular sleeping-place which he is not allowed to change. At night a stick is tied between the knees, spanning them during sleep. This is employed before the wound is healed.

A short while after the first dressing, a second dressing is applied, during which the operations are carefully inspected. If anyone is not properly circumcised the operation is repeated. Hereafter the wounds are dressed at frequent intervals and for the subsequent dressings they first apply a special leaf, over which is placed the *swadi* sheath dressing. Should there be hæmorrhage the patient is given a medicine made of ant-heap ground into powder with the addition of water. They claim that this has a tonic effect and stops the bleeding. After the inspection of the operation wounds and the application of the second dressings the *incibi* leaves for his home if he is satisfied that all is in order.

From the moment of circumcision the *abakweta* are not allowed to smoke, drink water or feed themselves until after the third sacrifice. At this stage of the ceremony they are given new names by the chief *kankata*. The new names are given to various eating and cooking utensils also. This rite is known as *Hlonipa*, for the new life demands that there be no trace of the old.

The following morning the fathers of the *abakweta* return to enquire after their sons and to inspect the operation wounds personally. After this they do not visit the hut again but merely enquire by calling out from some distance away. On the day when they inspect the wounds, they also build a cattle-kraal at the *Mkweta* hut. On the completion of this kraal each father sends his son a cow in milk. The *abakweta*, however, are not allowed to consume milk until after the third sacrifice. In consequence of the short duration of the Autumn ceremony the cattle-kraal is really only built for the Spring ceremonies. Small boys are allotted to herd and milk the cows. The milk for the *abakweta* is kept in leather bags. No other utensil may be used for this purpose.

The *isutu* visits the *Mkweta* hut at least twice daily and reports to the fathers how their sons are progressing. The wounds are personally seen by the chief *kankata* before dressings are applied and he is able to interpret from the condition of the wounds the causes which interfere with the process of healing. These disturbing factors may be the result of something withheld by the boy in his confession to the water. It may be that he smoked, drank water or committed some other forbidden act. Should an *mkweta*, during his time in the hut, disobey orders or misbehave himself in some other way, he is punished by means of a quince cane. He is made to hold out his arms in front of him with supinated hands and fingers flexed on the palms. The caning is given across the palms, fingers and forearms. Any retaliation by him means increased severity of punishment. The men who threatened him before he was made an *mkweta* may now apply the caning they promised him if they still feel so inclined. Otherwise, the punishment is meted out by the *amakankata*. These punishments are liberally applied for any offence, from the third or fourth day after circumcision. Punishment of this kind is given to instil in the *mkweta's* mind the experience that there is no escape from punishment for disobedience and that he cannot enter a new life without having paid in suffering for the offences of the old.

The food eaten by the *abakweta*, with the exception of meat, is

cooked at the family kraals. The families take turns at supplying and cooking the whole mealies and unground kaffir corn. All grain or corn, which forms their staple diet, must be old and not fresh. The cooking at the kraals is done by the sisters and mothers. No sister-in-law is allowed to cook food for an *mkweta* since they are not of the same blood and they might put witchcraft medicines into the food. The meat, whenever this is available (which is seldom), is cooked by the *amakankata* at the *Mkweta* hut.

Those who carry the food to the *Mkweta* hut from the kraals are not allowed to approach too near. There is usually a special spot where the food is placed for the *amakankata* to fetch it. Even in the preparation of the food great care is exercised that no influence belonging to other people or utensils is conveyed to the *abakweta*. Their cooking, therefore, is done in separate pots bought and put aside for this purpose.

The disposal of the amputated prepuces and the soiled dressings has to conform to a definite ritual. Each *mkweta* is supplied with a bag for his soiled dressings and these dressings are buried by him during the night, unknown to anyone else. Great secrecy is attached to the disposal of the prepuce and the *mkweta* usually buries it in an ant-heap. The ants consume the prepuce and the *mkweta* symbolically regains that which he had lost by drinking ant-heap medicines, as well as by decorating his face for the first few days with a paste made of ground ant-heap and water.

After the lapse of some days the bodies of the *abakweta* are decorated with white clay, known as *ifuta*. The whiteness is symbolic of purity and the performance of this toilet is a daily task. Hence small hand-mirrors are greatly valued by the *abakweta*. This process of "making up" takes hours. Fine lines are drawn over the forehead and round the mouth in order to make the natural folds as pronounced as possible. Not only is this a purification rite which frees them from the old evils but it equally serves as a disguise to the gaze of curious wives, for it is essential that they are not recognized for the same people as they were previously.

By this time the operation wounds are in process of healing and wherever any delay in healing is apparent the suspicions of the *amakankata* are aroused. The first assumption will be that the *mkweta* has withheld something in his confession to the water and, to remedy this default, he is beaten with the quince cane in the manner described until he confesses the hidden sin. A study of some of

these confessions indicates that they more often pertain to forbidden desires not realized than to acts actually committed; in other words, a rationalization of guilt complexes not yet consciously expressed in words.

If no fault is found in the *mkweta's* past, the matter is rectified by changing the cow-hair necklace which he wears. Should this necklace not favourably influence the condition of the wound then the first sacrifice of *Umngcama* is repeated, for the reason that something must have been neglected in the performance of the rites if his past is clean and the wound still resists treatment. The necklace is changed if the cow from which it was made takes ill or dies, for anything worn belonging to a sick or dead animal cannot have a beneficial influence in the new life.

It sometimes happens that an *mkweta* takes ill during his confinement to the *Mkweta* hut. Under such circumstances he is removed and nursed in the hills by the senior *kankata* and the *igqira*. He is only taken to his home-kraal in case of a very severe illness. As soon as he has recovered he is brought back to the *Mkweta* hut. Naturally an illness during this time is viewed as a very bad omen.

The *abakweta* are not allowed to drink milk for a month should one of them take ill. If an *mkweta* dies no milk from any of the *abakweta* cows is consumed either by them or by adults, but the boys herding the cows are allowed to drink the milk. The symbolism of this taboo is similar to the restrictions placed on the various age groups in regard to the eating of pork.

If nothing untoward happens in the *Mkweta* kraal the second sacrifice is performed as soon as the wounds start to heal.

THE SECOND SACRIFICE—*UMDAGA*

In the second sacrifice a sheep or goat is killed for each *mkweta* in turn and he eats the right shoulder *Isipika* and later the rest of the right shoulder and right hind-leg. The animals are killed by the elders at the *Mkweta* hut, assisted in turn by the father of the son for whom the *Umdaga* is intended. If there be a twin sister she participates in this ceremony and shares the *Isipika* with her brother. The left shoulder, internal organs and skins are taken to the family kraals of the *abakweta*.

As soon as the wounds are healed, and no further dressings are required, the third sacrifice is held.

THE THIRD SACRIFICE—OSISA

On this occasion only one animal is killed and this, like the second sacrifice, is killed at the *Mkweta* hut. The meat of this sacrificial animal is served to the *abakweta* and their fathers. At the conclusion of the ceremony the *isutu* informs the chief *kankata* that his wards are released from their pledges. They are given permission to go out hunting, to drink water and milk, to eat fresh food and green mealies and to smoke. They are, however, particularly warned not to eat the pointed end of the green mealie cob. When the elders were questioned about this they replied that it was to prevent the *abakweta* from having sexual intercourse. No one can deny the similarity between the penis and the mealie-cob, so that the mealie-cob, in this respect, is treated as a phallic symbol. The eating of the pointed end of the fresh mealie-cob, and the recently exposed or freshly exposed glans penis, fall under a common connotation. The eating of the mealie-cob and sexual intercourse can only be understood in this taboo as being forms of incorporation and hence both are met, due to the similarity in shape, by the same taboo.

The *abakweta* are warned by the chief *kankata* not to forget the laws and customs taught them by the *amakankata*. In addition he gives them the following instructions :

- " You must not steal.
- You must not quarrel among yourselves.
- You must be loyal to your friends.
- You must not quarrel with other people.
- You must avoid wives and under no circumstances should they be allowed to see your faces.
- You will be punished if it is discovered that you have had sexual intercourse or committed *metsha*.
- You are, from now on, allowed to receive payment for any work you may do."

After this sacrifice of *Osisa* the *incibi* and *amakankata* are allowed to sleep with women and have sexual intercourse. The junior *kankata* alone remains in charge of the *abakweta* and the first duty of the latter, after this sacrifice, is to find their own *ifuta*.

An interesting privilege is allowed the *abakweta* after the sacrifice of *Osisa*. For instance, they are given permission to steal should their requests for food or tobacco at any kraal be refused. Since they

are still tabooed from entering any hut except the *Mkweta* hut, they are required to carry out the following ritual if they wish to make their needs known to the people of a kraal. The *mkweta*, on coming to a kraal, must enter and stay in the cattle-kraal. If he is seen a small boy will be sent to enquire after his needs. Otherwise he has to wait (if he so desires) until a small boy comes on the scene. Of course there are always small children about the kraals who convey the information to the wives. Should they refuse to give him anything, it is not unlikely that something may be stolen.

While the *abakweta* are roaming about and hunting in the veld two boys guard the *Mkweta* hut, for the junior *kankata* has to attend to his own business during the day. The *abakweta* roam the veld with dogs and boys, snaring small game for food. The police claim that stock-thefts are committed during this period. In crossing a river or stream they tie a certain runner-plant round their legs before they enter the water. This plant is called *Uboqo*. If this custom is not carried out their wounds will re-open.

The week following the sacrifice of *Osisa* they are allowed to receive presents from their sweethearts. The girls give these presents (consisting of pipes, tobacco and fire-wood) to two concubines, namely divorced women or unmarried women who have given birth to illegitimate children. These concubines take the gifts to the junior *kankata* and he informs the boys who the donors are. The concubine is chosen as intermediary because she is neither girl nor wife and because she is not recognized by custom in either of these categories, there is therefore no infringement of law or custom. It appears that these two categories of woman's existence are the only two recognized in law. Wives and girls have a legal right to compensation; concubines have none.

There are always presents for the *kankata* as well as for the *abakweta*. The *mkweta* who has no sweetheart feels very much "out of it" on such occasions; hence it is customary for him to acquire one before he enters the *Abakweta* ceremony.

For those initiated in Autumn nothing further is done until they are released from the entire ceremony. Those who are circumcised in the Spring, however, enjoy a series of dances during this stage of the ceremony. These dances are known as the *Tshila* dances. (Pronounced *chila*.) The *abakweta* are first invited by the *isutu* and he opens the season, as it were, with the first big *Tshila* dance. Thereafter the father of each *mkweta* stages a *Tshila* dance. Even European

traders in the native territories give the *abakweta Tshila* dances. This is done, no doubt, with an eye to business.

The dance given by the *isutu* is a very special occasion, for which a bull is slaughtered. The skin of the bull is made into a drum and the musical accompaniment consists of singing, hand-clapping and beating of the drum. The *abakweta* are lavishly ornamented and decorated for this dance. Their main desire is to appear like a peacock. While the *abakweta* perform these *Tshila* dances taught them by the *amakankata* the others toss coins to them. These coins must be picked up with agility and grace while dancing. Fumbling, slowness or awkwardness in movement is disparaged with cries of derision.

The *abakweta* dance at the *isutu's* kraal night and day until all the beer and meat are consumed, after which they move to the next kraal on the list of invitations. In the performance of the dances the *abakweta* utter hissing sounds through their teeth, while with clenched fists on high they execute prancing movements alternating with vibratory contractions of buttocks and abdominal muscles.

At each of their family kraals the *abakweta* have to *tshila*. On these occasions they dance the actual *Tshila* dance as follows. The *abakweta*, under the leadership of the *amakankata* enter the cattle-kraal, but not by its recognized gate; a special opening is made for them at the rear of the kraal. When in the cattle-kraal, a goat is sacrificed with stabbing and *Camagu*. At this time they are dressed in grass skirts, with grass head-dresses. Two long feathers are inserted in the head-dress to give the appearance of horns. The exposed parts of the body are covered with white clay. The intention is to affect such a disguise that no woman shall be able to establish the identity of any one of them.

The *Isipika* is first eaten by the *mkweta* belonging to the kraal. Thereafter the *abakweta* and men have the right side of the animal and the women receive the left side: when the meal is over the women and men at the huts clap hands and sing, "Let the *abakweta* come out of the kraal." The *abakweta* leave the kraal by the special gate. Here a small gift is placed on the ground (it may be a coin), and they have to fight for it with their sticks. The elders decide on the winner. At sunset an ox is killed and the *abakweta* return to their hut, under the supervision of the junior *kankata*.

The following morning, at dawn, they return to repeat the *Tshila* dance which continues throughout the day. No women are allowed

near a *Tshila* dance. The men throw coins and applaud their skill in the performance of the *Tshila*. In between the dances there is much eating of beef and drinking of beer. Towards sunset the *mkweta* of the kraal is presented with a gift from his sweetheart. This is given through the medium of the *kankata*. This little gift from the girl sweetheart always concludes the *Tshila* ceremony at any kraal.

When every father has given his *mkweta* son a *Tshila*, the *isutu* decides to release the *abakweta* from the taboos of the ceremony and the last *Tshila* ceremony is given by him for his own son. On this occasion they *chata*. The *chata* always means the conclusion of a ceremony. At the *isutu's* kraal there is a bigger gathering than at any of the other kraals. He sometimes has to kill as many as ten sheep to provide food. This dance continues for three days and nights. This last *Tshila* and *Chata* ceremony is carried out in both seasons, Autumn and Spring.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *abakweta*, *isutu*, *amakankata*, fathers, elders and other men all gather at the *Mkweta* hut. The chief *kankata* informs the *abakweta* that this is the day of their release from the *Abakweta* ceremony. This is indeed sad news for them and they show it by their crestfallen appearance, for this means the end of much fun, feasting and dancing, as well as discarding those presents which they accumulated during the *Abakweta* ceremonies. Some of these presents they are allowed to give to the boys who herded and milked their cows. All that is not given away is tied in their karosses and hung up in the *Mkweta* hut. Absolutely naked, without a string on their bodies, they are marched in twos and fours to a selected spot. From this place they have to run as hard as possible to the river. They are chased by a howling "pack" of young men and boys and beaten if overtaken.

In the river they perform a purification rite and are washed and scrubbed by the *amakankata* and other willing helpers. When all traces of decorations belonging to the *abakweta* period have been removed the chief *kankata* announces that they are no longer *abakweta* but *amarwala*. From this stage they are again allowed to use those names for household utensils which they learned from their mothers and the *hlonipa* is at an end.

After the ceremony at the river they are conducted back to the *Mkweta* hut by a dense crowd of men and boys in a mass formation, so as to obscure them from the gaze of the women. During this procession songs are sung and the young men engage in stick fights.

The *amarwala* do not sing or talk ; they are very quiet and appear to take their new lives seriously. On reaching the *Mkweta* hut each one is handed a lump of lard by the *kankata* and this they rub into their bodies. The fathers present their sons each with a new white blanket and an *isidla*. Dried leaves and branches are heaped up all over the *Mkweta* hut. Inside the hut are the karosses of the *abakweta* and the presents they did not give away. As the *amarwala* walk away the *Mkweta* hut is set on fire by the *amakankata*. They must not look back as no *irwala* must see the burning of his *Mkweta* hut. This symbolizes the dead past. All frivolity, all immaturity is now left behind. As the *Mkweta* hut disappears in flames and burns to ashes so there must be no flame of their past boyhood but only dead ashes. They have emerged from all this into glorious manhood and its serious responsibilities in life. They are now factors in tradition and custom. The rebirth has become materialized, for the name *irwala* means " new life ".

The native believes implicitly and sincerely that as a result of the *Abakweta* ceremony a new life is attained. No native can attain to manhood without this custom and here they naturally imply their idea of manhood in relation to the perpetuation of their customs and traditions. (In enunciating the word *amarwala*, one must introduce a Dutch " g " as follows, *amagrwala*. This gives the correct Xosa pronunciation with a guttural sound.)

After leaving the *Mkweta* hut in flames the *amarwala* proceed to the *isutu's* kraal and on arrival enter the cattle-kraal. The women and girls stand some distance away from the kraal. As soon as they are in the cattle-kraal a huge fire is lit inside the kraal to signify the manly passions of the new life. An ox is killed and the usual *camagu* sacrifice is carried out. Before the sacrifice is done, beer is served to the *amakankata*.

After this sacrifice the *kankata* conducts the *amarwala* to a hut specially reserved for them. The meat is cooked and divided as usual, the right half for the men and the left half for the women and girls. When they have eaten, the *amakankata* conduct the *amarwala* to a hut where the young men and girls are assembled. Here they are herded on one side of the hut and are not allowed to converse with the girls. The young men and girls sing and clap hands for a dance and each *irwala* in turn gives an exhibition of the *Tshila* as taught him by the *amakankata*. During these dances they symbolize the ferocity of a bull or some wild animal. These exhibition dances

continue throughout the night and some time before dawn the *amarwala* are ordered to the river by the junior *kankata*. While they are bathing in the river the senior *kankata* prepares the *imbola* (red clay or ochre) with which they decorate their bodies when they return. Their blankets, white previously, are now dyed red. All these toilet preparations are made in the hut specially reserved by the *isutu* for them.

Having breakfasted, the *amarwala* remain in their hut awaiting the visit of the wives. The first part of the instructions are given by the wives. When they enter the hut each mother thanks the junior *kankata* for looking after her son, but if there is anything she disapproves of she does not refrain from expressing her opinion. After this the mothers present the junior *kankata* with gifts of money. They next turn to the *isutu*'s son and he is given an insignia of honour in the form of a string of black beads and a black cloth. Following these presentations the grandmothers address the *amarwala* as follows :

"Now that you are men you will have to keep us. You must not be selfish and say you will have nothing to do with the old women of the kraal, for if you do you will be unfortunate in life. Take as an example the conduct of your fathers."

At the conclusion of this address each wife informs the *amakankata* what she intends giving her relative or son. These gifts will be collected later by the *amakankata* and usually consist of fowls or other live stock to start the young men in life. The *Abakweta* ceremony is, in this respect, similar to a coming of age, and the animals presented to them on this occasion by both men and women serve as the nucleus from which they will breed their live stock and prepare for the day when each of them will establish his own kraal.

After the ceremony in the hut the *amarwala* are taken by the *amakankata* to the cattle-kraal where the elders and other men are assembled waiting for them. The *incibi* stands up and expresses his gratefulness to the *amakankata* for having performed their duties so diligently in regard to their wards. He presents gifts to the *amakan-kata* and to the *irwala* who is his relative. He sits down amidst dignified silence.

The next to speak is the orator, a man renowned in the kraals for his speeches. The speeches recorded here are translations of the actual orations given on these occasions. They are delivered in strikingly dramatic manner and effectively illustrated by gestures. The orator first thanks the *amakankata* as follows :

"You have guarded our children well. You have taught them laws and traditions of our people. May what you have taught them always remain with them."

After this speech he turns to the *amarwala* and addresses them as follows :

"You are now men. Gone are your carefree childish ways. From to-day the maintenance of custom and tradition rests on your shoulders and thus you must obey every implication of our laws. You shall not have connection with the wives of other men. You must be obedient to the elders of your kraal and people. You must not interfere with girls and cause them to become pregnant, thinking that your fathers have assets and will pay your fines, for that is the way a child thinks.

Take notice you *amarwala* ! From to-day you must work for your living. You will leave for distant places. You will work far, far away from your people, where your customs are not known. Be thus always faithful to the traditions of your people. You will go out to work on the farms for the white man. Let obedience to your masters be your first consideration."

Following this, the orator presents his gifts and sits down.

The next speaker is the *isutu*. He confines his address to the *amakankata* and thanks them for guarding the young men according to the customs of the people. He ends by saying, "This shows that you are sons of blood" (*Unyana weazi*).

Next come the grandfathers (or grand-uncles in the absence of the former). Each addresses his own grandson as follows :

"You are now a man, my grandson, and you must remember this, my grandson. I have circumcised your father by my authority. From to-day you must not go to another man's wife nor seduce an unmarried girl thinking that your father's wealth will pay your fines. You must not feel too proud of being a man and thereby show disobedience to your elders. You must always remember that whatever I, as your grandfather, possess has come to me through my conduct which has found favour with my ancestral spirits. Thus I have been given a family, cattle and crops as head of your line of ancestry. You also will become head of your line, so remember my words and deeds. Remember further this promise I give you as your grandfather. When the time comes when you want to marry, you must come to me for the wife. I shall give the *lobola* to you as the eldest son of my son."

The cattle, sheep and goats to be given to the *amarwala* by the elders, fathers and relatives, have all been arranged beforehand and the *isutu* merely informs each *irwala* what he will receive. But he does this in a manner which gives the impression that he is responsible

for the gifts. This is easily understood, for since he was the substitute father for all the *abakweta*, all gifts must come through him. The *amakankata* afterwards collect these animals and distribute them to the various kraals.

After the warnings and instructions by the elders the *amarwala* leave the cattle-kraal by the front gate and are conducted to the hut where the grandmothers gave their instructions. Beer is now served but not for the *amarwala*. The first beer is served to the *amakankata*; the second to the elders; the third for those men not classed as elders. While the *amarwala* are enjoying a meal of meat, crushed mealies and beans, the *amakankata* collect girls from the neighbouring kraals for a big dance. During the dance beer is served to the *amarwala*. When it is over the junior *kankata* escorts the *amarwala* each to his respective family kraal.

From now onwards they have to bathe twice a day and decorate their bodies with *imbola*. This is continued until they find employment away from their kraals, usually on the gold mines.

The above circumcision rite is carried out in the native territories where tribal law and traditions hold sway. A modified form of circumcision rite is performed by some adherents of traditional customs in urban areas and town locations. Under such circumstances there is but little of the ceremonial detail of the kraals. Natives born in urban areas are known to employ the services of European doctors for this operation while numbers of others grow up without being circumcised. It is quite common for educated natives marrying pagan girls to have this operation performed by medical men before the marriage, for pagan elders will not allow their daughters to marry uncircumcised men.

Circumcision rites performed in town locations frequently lead to septic wounds, due to the unhygienic attentions and the absence of ritualistic care exercised under tribal customs. In fact, to these men the possession of a prepuce is a sign of inferiority and they usually speak about the ceremony as, "I was made a man," but the wider connotation implied by the *Abakweta* ceremony is lost to them. Besides, they are living in a transitional and well-nigh chaotic cultural atmosphere, having none of the supporting influences of the culture of the kraals. They are merely copying, or aping, that which is of great importance in man's estate in the conception of tradition, without identifying themselves in overt conduct with the other essential components of this rite. In this respect there is a marked instability

at this stage of the native's removal from pagan culture, but this instability is more apparent in behaviour and attitude to practical things than it is in the sphere of belief in pagan mythology. The latter is undoubtedly the last to go. If one were to rely only on the conscious statements of the educated native, he would appear to have entirely discarded the dynamic influence of his folk-lore, but, as pointed out under "Witchcraft", special conditions of illness and adversities frequently show that his attitude is merely a veneer.

The *Abakweta* ceremony has a far-reaching and good influence on the pagan native and this view is especially supported by the opinions of European farmers. These farmers claim that a native who has gone through the *Abakweta* ceremony is a much better servant than the one from the urban area. They maintain that the former is more obedient and trustworthy and they can leave their farms knowing that their women and children are safe with the pagan, whereas they would not have the same feelings about the natives from the urban area.

Native traders confirm this, and add that a European woman is much safer in the native territories among raw natives than in the town among detribalized natives. Personal experience has found a dignity and sincerity among pagan natives which is sadly lacking among their fellows living in town locations. It would indeed be sad if a native in his emancipation has to lose these admirable qualities.

ABAKWETA CEREMONY—ITS SYMBOLISM

Multiform symbolic connotations are condensed in this initiation ceremony. The Bantu race no doubt obtained the circumcision rite from Hamitic influence and incorporated it in its culture, since circumcision is supposed to have begun in Egypt during the dynastic period. Initiatory ceremonials are common in many parts of the world and it appears that the performance of these ceremonies complies with the desires of the initiate.

Several components embraced in man's psychological development are apparent in the symbolism of this ceremony among the Tembu. The primary reason seems to be the detachment of the boys from their mothers and their admission into the community of men as responsible beings. This ceremonial rite is thus practised as

a means of solving the Oedipus complex. The Oedipus complex, when viewed entirely from a psychological aspect, covers only a part of the relationship between mother and child, for although the child is anatomically separate from the mother it is still biologically profoundly dependent on the mother. It is an essential of higher forms of animal life that a period of youth be spent in close intimacy with the mother ; a period which is necessary if the offspring is to survive. There are therefore not only conscious factors involved in this setting, but automatic biological or predetermined factors as well. It seems as if certain forms of erotic sensations and experiences are essential for the full functioning of this Oedipus attachment.

Now, as maturity and growth proceed, the individual will move farther away from the mother and show a gradual development of a psychological independence, but the early biological and psychological factors which made this attachment essential have led to certain conditionings which can be understood as emotional values or purposive trends, and these trends, or fixations will continue to interfere, and even in some cases to obstruct, the psychological weaning of the child.

One can picture it as if the forces inherent in growth and development have split, the larger portion moving in the direction of growth and independent existence, and the smaller portion tending to remain attached to the mother. Ultimately the smaller portion may become so attenuated as to be no longer felt or experienced as an active force, drive or wish.

The *Abakweta* ceremony in this culture shows an intuitive appreciation by the elders of this Oedipus situation. The carrying out of the ritualistic practices thus provides ways and means of assisting the boy to adjust to the collective life of his cultural milieu a collective life framed on patriarchal laws and the dominance of the male. His participation as an adult can only come about by a dramatic change in his life. This change entails a reduplication of birth and growth, development and maturity.

The child's development can be divided into two phases ; first, a phase of female dominance ; second, a phase of male dominance and control. To enter the second phase the boy must experience a psychological, ritualistic, symbolic birth. He must be born again into the domain of men, as it were, and all his attachments to the mother of the first phase must be severed. Although in words it may seem absurd, it conveys the meaning that the elders become the mothers of the second phase. Hence the rebirth takes place with a

rigid taboo on women. After they have built the *Mkweta* hut and thus prepared the symbolic womb, they do not again participate until the return of the fully-developed man or *irwala*.

The ceremony does not confine itself to the mere taking over of control by the men, but it bears symbolic evidence of severing the erotic attachments to the mother. The isolation and confinement to the *Mkweta* hut symbolize the process of rebirth. The sexual erotic aspect is portrayed in the prohibitions placed on the *amakankata*, as if sexual acts committed by them during this period will interfere with the weaning of the *abakweta* from their own early erotic experiences. This interference can only take place by means of sympathetic magic. This supports the inference that the *Abakweta* ceremony must remove the erotic ties which exist between the boy and his mother, or *abakweta* and wives.

The amount of sadistic pleasure exercised in beating the boys with the consent of the elders seems to gratify some unconscious hostility which their elders have against them. Perhaps its hidden purpose is an attempt to intimidate the boys with respect for the authority of the elders on account of the disobedience the boys displayed during their period of dominance by the mothers.

The actual surgical mutilation, or circumcision, apart from being a test of fitness for manhood and initiation into manhood, must also be considered as a form of sacrifice. It is not unlikely that at one time circumcision and castration had a similar connotation. The prepuce is the symbol of boyhood and is associated with the Oedipus situation; hence, by a liberal use of symbolism, the amputation of part of the prepuce is a form of castration for infantile sexual desires. It is a sacrifice or atonement in retrospect and prospect. The boy is not giving up a part of his sexual organ for forbidden acts already committed but because there is some guilt about his attachment to his mother in his mind. The sacrifice is therefore a means of compromising with the conscience. The horror and disgust with which the pagans view sexual intercourse between a wife and an uncircumcised lad show the incestuous meaning that is read in such an act where the prepuce is still intact, because the word "wife" denotes the mother class.

During the period they were allowed to roam about before they became *amarwala*, they were allowed to talk to unmarried girls and even to flirt with them, but wives remain tabooed. At the approach of a wife the *mkweta* would cover up his face in his kaross. The

same applies to the disguises affected during the *Tshila* dances. The symbolic castration contained in the circumcision is therefore an explanation of his unconscious desires for forbidden sexuality and illustrates the operation of the old Hebrew law of *Lex Talionis*. By giving up a part of his sexual organ he propitiates the elders, that his sexual desires may receive their approval.

The circumcision is also a test for maturity, for the value and sensitivity of the penis and fear of injury to this organ would lead to instinctive protective impulses, should danger approach it. The test for maturity comes when, in spite of the fear impulses operative in his mind, the initiate exercises so much self-control that he remains completely and passively immobile during the actual performance of the operation. Before and during the circumcision operation he is closely observed for the slightest flinching reaction. If he fulfils the requirements immediately before and during the operation he is considered a mature and responsible person having the capacity to comply with the demands of custom as an adult. Hence his reply to the *incibi*, "I am a man."

The appointment of a symbolic father, as the *isutu*, conveys the impression that the circumcision rite might at one time have been a family affair and that the actual circumcision was then done by the father himself; but later, with the development of a great family group, namely the tribe, a father substitute was appointed.

The justification for assuming that his confinement to the *Mkweta* hut symbolizes the period spent *in utero* is supported by the shaving of all the hair from his body in order to recapture the state of infancy, as well as the purification rite in the river before circumcision and the painting with white clay as a symbol of purity. All these ritualistic activities are to erase from his mind his previous existence inclusive of his dependence on and attachment to his mother, for one observes the attempt to wipe out associations by forbidding the use of names of utensils which he learned at his mother's knee. He is only allowed to use them again when he is a man and reborn.

The day of his actual birth into manhood comes when he walks away, leaving behind him in flames his blood-stained kaross in the burning *Mkweta* hut. The taboo on his looking back is symbolically a taboo on having interest in the mother's reproductive organs or indulging in phantasies about his own birth; for having undergone a process of rebirth he has given himself over entirely to the laws of men which will compensate for the loss of security associated with

his first phase. One can almost view his initiation into manhood as an admission into the brotherhood of men.

After his emergence into manhood, and before the elders give their warnings and instructions, he is first addressed by the senior mothers whose words are significant when they have to warn him not to leave the mothers of the kraal out of his considerations. It is as if he is almost a stranger to them and no longer a son or grandson. The very gifts they present to him seem to imply the hope of some reciprocity in the future. At the first they gave him security; now he must assure them of security.

Reference has been made to the *Abantubomlambo* (River People) as having some connection with birth phantasies. The concept embracing river and people seems to have two components referring to the birth situation. The river and deep pool may have reference to the female reproductive organs; and the people, half fish and half human, may be phallic symbols. Let us assume, for the purpose of understanding this myth, that these symbolic connotations are applicable. Then the people, half fish and half human, would be the symbolic phallus of the fathers or elders and a further extension of tribal moral conscience, since they speak of and punish violations of tribal customs.

There is a condensation of several meanings in the confession of the initiate before circumcision. He enters the water and confesses all his sins to the River People. We have seen the connection between this ceremony and the solving of the Oedipus complex, so that the confession to the water is condensed into confessing to the father forbidden interests in his mother's reproductive organs. Further evidence that this confession has reference to his sexual sins is shown by the interpretations the *amakankata* place on the retarded healing of the wound.

Again the *iggira* goes into the deep pools under the water to obtain wisdom, as if this mystic investigation takes him back to the source of creation, the womb. On his return he has the secrets of life and omnipotent powers of magic. This is symbolic of infantile magical thinking. It is as if a small child asked, "Where do I come from?" and then travelled back the way he came into the world to observe the mysterious process, so satisfying his interest and curiosity about his origin and source. Such a child would indeed be superior to the other children who have no knowledge of the great mystery of birth and the forbidden knowledge of conception. In the case

of the *iggira* or witch-doctor, it appears as if he attains Nirvana and fuses again with the mother, for in her must be the knowledge he seeks regarding the origin of his existence.

Just as the *iggira* must not reveal what he has seen beneath the deep pools, for fear of death, so the *irwala* must not see his burning hut. The *isanuse* has learned what the people, half fish and half human, do in the deep pools, and this knowledge entitles him to officiate at the sacrifice to the *Abantubomlambo*. This sacrifice may be a symbolic atonement for incestuous wishes, but when one considers how careful the parents are that their children should never suspect sexual relations between them, this sacrifice may equally be an atonement for having interests in the father's phallus and the mother's reproductive organ. The *Abantubomlambo* is the seat of hidden knowledge, as well as the just and moral conscience of the elders.

There are certain important forensic psychiatric aspects of this *Abakweta* ceremony. It has been observed among hospital material that men of adult age with a marked degree of mental defectiveness amounting to imbecility, have not been circumcised in spite of the fact that they were resident in the kraals in native territories during the required age period for the performance of this ceremony. A similar condition exists among epileptics who have deteriorated at an early age or who showed a low-grade mental defectiveness with epilepsy. In schizophrenics this is equally apparent, and if an uncircumcised patient is admitted from 22 to 26 years of age his maladjustment, personality, immaturity or psychotic behaviour may have been in existence for years. Especially if a young man charged with some crime is sent to the mental hospital for observation and he is not circumcised, the odds are ten to one that he is a low-grade feeble-minded person.

These facts are not only of importance to psychiatrists but more so to district surgeons and to administrators of law in the native territories. The fact that the request for initiation must come from the boy himself indicates that the onus for undergoing this ceremony entirely rests with the boy himself. If he is timid, afraid, retiring or intellectually immature, he may never make such request. There are cases where boys have made the request to be allowed through the ceremony but where the fathers and elders have refused permission. They exercise an intuitive appreciation of his social and economic worth from an early age, especially his compliance with the laws of

obedience and difficulty in bladder and bowel training during childhood, as well as his reliability in guarding the crops, counting and herding cattle, sheep and goats. In such cases the third finger of the left hand is frequently amputated, showing an early sacrifice for some behaviour disorder. Patients are at times admitted showing a schizophrenic psychotic disturbance shortly after the *Abakweta* ceremony. From a psychopathological point of view, these cases provide rich soil for speculation as to whether the *Abakweta* rites were precipitating factors.

A feeble-minded lad (age twenty) was admitted to the hospital with a transverse incision over the dorsum of his penis. He was refused permission to be initiated, for the second year, and so he tried to circumcise himself and nearly amputated his penis.

Uncircumcised native schizophrenic patients frequently maintain that they never *metshaed* with girls, and where special attempts were made to obtain pre-admission histories of such patients from relatives the information contained evidence of prolonged attachment of such boys to their mothers. They did not enter into the fun of other boys nor were some of them known to have had sweethearts; in fact, the relatives state they were good children and always helped their mothers. Such behaviour traits must have been viewed as a form of immaturity by the elders.

CHAPTER VII

INTONJANE—OR INITIATION CEREMONY INTO WOMANHOOD

THIS ceremony is more dependent on economic conditions than is the *Abakweta*. It seems that in native culture a family may forego sending a daughter through the puberty initiation rite but never a son. The boys may be initiated in great numbers whereas in the case of females only one may be initiated at a time. The *Intonjane* ceremony can be carried out at any time, according to the wealth of the parents, usually reckoned along the lines of the number of live stock and the condition of the crops, namely mealies and kaffir corn. This ceremony requires a large number of animals to feed all the guests.

The term used for sending a girl through this ceremony is to *tomba* her. Another term, *tonjiswa*, is equally appropriate. The average age for the *Intonjane* is from sixteen years, but many women go through this ceremony after marriage, if they did not have the opportunity of doing so before on account perhaps of the poverty of their parents.

It is the desire of every woman in the native kraals to be initiated, since these ceremonial rites and sacrifices bring fertility and health. A married woman who has not gone through the ceremony will require to be *tombaed* in cases of sterility or any other recurring or chronic illness : more frequently if there is some menstrual disturbance.

The woman who has not gone through this ceremony is called by the wives "the uncircumcised one", which really, in the native language, means a boy. The term used is *akwalukanga*. Such a woman is not accepted as fully a woman. She is attributed with some immature masculine traits. The similarity is shown in that both sexes undergo an initiation rite, and at the same time it illustrates the son's attachment to the mother which the ceremony must sever, and the daughter's attachment to the father which the ceremony is also required to sever. If the daughter has not gone through this ceremony her identification with feminine ideals is not complete and

it is assumed that her attachment to her father makes her psychologically not a real woman. There is thus some intuitive appreciation that without the *Intonjane* she is psychologically not integrated towards a true feminine ideal. Here again, as in the *Abakweta*, the ceremonial rite is to produce a process of rebirth and the emergence of a new personality after a symbolic castration. The latter is portrayed in the shaving of the genital region.

Either the father or the grandfather can *tomba* the girl. If the grandfather gives the ceremony, the girl goes through the *Intonjane* at the grandfather's kraal. It will be remembered that the grandfather receives the *lobola* for the eldest daughter and so it is not infrequent that the grandfather pays the expenses of this ceremony for his granddaughter since he will see that *lobola* paid for her covers his expenses.

There is no special season for the *Intonjane* ceremony but there is one condition, namely that it must be started at the beginning of a new moon. This is due to the general belief that the moon has some influence on menstruation and regular menstrual periods mean a healthy reproductive system.

In the deliberations beforehand, the father consults the grandfather, and should they decide to *tomba* the girl, they send for the aunts on the father's side. (Never on the mother's side.) Should there be no aunts then the selection falls on first cousins, starting always from the eldest. Again, if there are no first cousins second cousins are selected. The eldest aunt, first or second cousin as the case may be, *tombas* the eldest daughter, the second eldest aunt or cousin, the second eldest daughter, and so on. The father tells the aunt if one is available, that he intends to *tomba* his daughter some time in the near future. If it happens to be the eldest daughter then the eldest aunt manages the *Intonjane*.

The eldest aunt is called the chief *nkazana* and another aunt is appointed called the second *nkazana*. The chief *nkazana* selects yet another girl to assist at the *Intonjane* ceremony. This girl may be her daughter or some other near relative of the girl to be *tomba*ed. No one who is not related on her father's side may be employed to assist officially at this ceremony. This girl is to assist the *nkazanas* in caring for the initiate. It is usually considered a great honour to officiate at an *Intonjane* ceremony since it is really a marriage market. This is the occasion when girls display their physical attractiveness and charms and fathers select the prospective brides for their sons.

In addition to these women officials, a man is selected called the *dindala* or policeman. Once such a *dindala* is appointed for the eldest daughter's *Intonjane* he remains the *dindala* for all the daughters of that kraal when they go through the ceremony. The duties of the *dindala* will become clear in the course of this description.

The chief *nkazana* is the important person at this function; she is like the *isutu* in the *Abakweta* ceremony, but to a minor degree does she assume the rôle of mother dictator. It is required of her to keep a strict supervision, to see that everything is carried out according to the requirements of custom and that no sexual intercourse takes place during these dances in the *Intonjane* hut. Her primary responsibility is to see that the initiate is not seen by others nor holds converse with the young men. Apart from this she has to examine the girls every morning to see that no penetration has taken place during the night. If anything untoward is discovered by her, she reports to the *dindala* who, in turn, reports to the elders.

The second *nkazana* has to see to the feeding of the girl and accompany her on her excursions outside the hut, which must take place at night. In case it is necessary that the girl should leave the hut during the day, she is covered up so effectively that no one will recognize her. Her body is decorated with *Imbola*. The young girl helper, who must be a relative, assists in all these rites if required, but her task is solely the cooking of the food required by the officials and the *Intonjane*.

The *dindala* maintains order among the men visitors who crowd the hut at night. He has the power to impose fines on anyone causing a disturbance and prohibit such a person from further visits to the hut. The young men or *abafana* who visit the *Intonjane* hut at night, have to bring money donations or other gifts and these are collected by the *dindala*. The most important function of his office, however, is the distribution of the girls for the night, each to a male partner. He of course selects one for himself. Partners are allotted to the *nkazanas* but these are usually elderly men who merely leave their blankets and sleep at their own homes. These senior partners also have to bring small gifts for the *nkazanas*.

There are two forms of *Intonjane* ceremonies with a slight variation in the beginning of the rites. In both cases the father informs the aunts or *nkazanas* that he wishes to *tomba* his daughter. In one instance the wives wait until he names the particular day for the beginning of the ceremony. In the other case they kidnap the girl

and start the ceremony at any time after he has expressed his desire that she should go through the *Intonjane* ceremony. When they kidnap a girl, they wait until the father is away from home. She is then taken and put in a hut behind a partition or screen. On the father's return, the chief *nkazana* informs him that the *Intonjane* has started. It is customary that the father raises no objection to this procedure.

When the girl is placed behind the screen on mats, her hair is shaved on her head and genitals. This ritual, like in the *Abakweta* ceremony, shows the birth symbolism, and her confinement in the hut evidently symbolizes the period *in utero* before birth. All bangles, beads and other adornments are removed as well as all articles of clothing. She is covered with a blanket and wears a black veil over her head and face. She is not to see the light until she is released from the *Intonjane* ceremony. This period of darkness must symbolize the period prior to birth. No visitors are allowed behind the screen; she can be seen only by her attendants. Every morning before daylight she is taken out to the river or stream to bathe and her body is afterwards smeared with *imbola*.

Her food consists of whole hard mealies, corn and meat. All solid foods are mixed with gravy. She is not allowed to have milk, nor can she feed herself. She must be fed like an infant by the *nkazana*. A strict taboo is exercised in regard to the consumption of meat and milk at the same meal by anyone taking part in the *Intonjane*, since a combination of these two foods is held to cause increased sexual desire and will thus endanger the girls and young men who visit the hut at night. A necklace, the *ubulunga* described under the *Isiko Lobulunga* ceremony, is placed round her neck. The application of this necklace during the *Intonjane* ceremony has a special meaning, namely to "correct" or "mend".

Should there be a twin sister, both girls are *tombaed* at the same time. In addition they must have the early morning bath in the vicinity of the two *Naaboom* or Euphorbia trees planted at their birth. Should these trees be planted far away from the *Intonjane* hut and kraal, some branches are brought to the kraal and are taken along with the twins for the early morning bathe. Where one twin is a boy, they exchange blankets and round his neck is placed an *ubulunga* as well. The boy is placed behind the screen for a while before the girl begins her *Intonjane* isolation. He accompanies her to her early morning bathe and bathes in the same stream.

In the case of an unmarried girl the *Intonjane* ceremony usually begins by kidnapping the girl. This kidnapping procedure is not applied in case of a married woman. The *nkazana* visits the girl's kraal and as soon as the father leaves the kraal the women start to dance and sing a song called *tsholoza*. This song is the overture for the commencement of the *Intonjane* and the words are *sontongane engene*. The girl is seized and placed on the mat behind the screen after the usual ceremonial requirements already described are completed.

The father kills a goat, sheep or ox, according to his wealth. This killing is the first sacrifice called *Ngenandlini* and it means "Go into the hut". The same ritual of the *Isipika*, as previously described, is carried out, and, after preparation, is given to the girl on the end of a stick by the *nkazana*. She eats the rest of the right shoulder later as required. Two more *nkazanas* are elected now to assist the others in their duties.

On the first night of the *Intonjane* no men (*abafana*) are allowed in the *Intonjane* hut, but boys (*amakwenkwe*) are allowed. The term "boys" here refers to the uninitiated young men. From the time the girl is placed behind the screen the rumour of an *Intonjane* spreads from kraal to kraal and the *amakwenkwe* and girls are soon arriving in large numbers. On entering the hut, they sing and dance while the girl behind the screen can hear all that is taking place. The dancing and singing continue until late into the night. Thus in her process of isolation she is first conditioned, as it were, to the immature strata, namely boys and young girls.

In the morning of the second day the girls leave early to cut soft grass called by a special name, *Inxopo*. This grass provides the bedding for the girls and *abafana* (young men) that night. The women and girls left in the kraal sing and dance from dawn until about sunrise. Later in the day, when the girls arrive with their bundles of *Inxopo* grass, another animal is killed, called *Izicama*. This sacrifice is to provide meat for the girls and women, because women attended to the *Intonjane* as a baby. The sacrifice is considered a compensation to the mother for the trouble she had in rearing the child who is now leaving her to become a woman, but it also seems to compensate the wives or symbolic mothers for the portion of love which the child gave to the father. The right shoulder goes to the *Intonjane* and the head and trotters to the father of the kraal.

Some time after sunset the *abafana* arrive from distant kraals,

decorated and adorned with coloured beads, blankets, brass anklets, bangles, ear-rings and *isidla*, the latter usually extravagantly ornamented. If any boys should be hanging around the hut, the *abafana* take great pleasure in beating them and chasing them away by stick-fights, since boys are not allowed in men's company.

This is the night for the men and the *Intonjane* ceremony is now beginning in earnest. The *dindala* distributes the girls among them and if there are more girls than men a man may receive two girls. If the reverse is the case the men are sent out to bring more girls. No man is allowed to have the same partner twice. Should a man refuse the partner the *dindala* hands to him he is fined or driven away from the kraal and may not come to any function there during the present *Intonjane*. The *dindala* chooses a partner for himself, usually the most attractive girl present, and he also provides partners for the girl who cooks and for the *nkazanas*. The latter receive old men who do not sleep there but pay their donations. There is an exception made in the case of the *nkazanas*. Their partners are not changed on subsequent nights.

After dancing and singing for a while, the girls and young men go to sleep, two under a blanket. On these occasions they are allowed to *metsha* and make love inside a hut. This is the reason for the couple sleeping under one blanket. There is some decency attached to *metsha* and it must not be performed to the knowledge of anyone else. The *nkazanas* are reputed to keep "eagle eye" observation in case the accepted customary practices should be violated. The next morning the *nkazanas* carry out the genital examination of the girls as required by custom. These nocturnal visits and dances at the *Intonjane* hut by the young men and girls continue for three weeks.

On the morning of the third day of the *Intonjane* ceremony, the dawn is greeted by the *tsholoza* dance, performed only by women and girls. This continues until about noon. After the mid-day meal the famous *umgqungqo* dance is performed. There is a definite ritual connected with this dance. The men congregate, forming a circle some distance away and facing the gate of the cattle-kraal. To the left of the cattle-kraal the wives form another circle and to the right of the kraal the girls form a circle.

The men are dressed in their fineries and blankets, including plenty of brass bangles, anklets and ear-rings, as well as other bright-coloured cloths. The wives wear short cow-skin skirts and their breasts are covered by a broad strip hanging down the front of the chest from

the neck. This is called *incebeta*. The girls have their bodies painted with red clay. Their faces are painted with a sort of ochre mixed with fat as a basis. This gives a beautiful smooth brownish appearance. The lips are blackened with a mixture of soot and fat. The cheek-bones may have three little black marks, resembling the impression of a bird's foot. Round the arms and legs are an abundance of brass and bead bangles and anklets. For this dance they wear no other covering of the body but the *inciyo*. This is a little bead curtain hanging round the waist from above the iliac crest and obscuring the genital region. The breasts are exposed since unmarried women do not cover their breasts.

The circle of wives merely stamp with one foot, clap hands and sing. The circle of men as a rule just look on. At times they may dance but only in their own circle. The main attraction is the circle of girls dancing in their *inciyo*s. The dance consists of stamping, prancing movements, but as a rule just a shimmy effecting the buttocks or rotating movements of the hips. Rhythmic clapping and singing continue all the while.

The *umgqungqo* dance is the grand opportunity for each girl to display her physical charm and dancing abilities. The fathers, as a rule, attend these dances in large numbers, for this is the occasion when they select the future brides for their sons. The girls, who are fully aware of the purpose of the dance, usually give their best performance; especially if the family of a girl wants her to marry into a certain family, the girl is told by her parents to give a performance which will catch the eye of the prospective father-in-law.

These *umgqungqo* dances are continued every afternoon for three weeks. Should girls, after an *umgqungqo* dance on their way to their own kraals, meet a man, they simply stand in front of him and he has to present them with gifts. They are allowed by custom to do this as a sort of payment for the entertainment they provided. The girls may call at various kraals and dance or just demand gifts. During all these dances at the *Intonjane* kraal, the initiate remains behind the screen in her hut and comes in contact with no one but the *nkazanas*.

The *Intonjane* ceremony where the girl is not kidnapped is somewhat more ceremonial. The girl to be *tombaed* is placed behind the screen in the morning. After sunset a crowd of women and girls remove this girl from the hut. She is covered with a blanket and her head is draped with a veil. The crowd of women and girls pack so closely around her that she is not seen by men. She is taken to

some distant hill or other secluded spot. All the way there the women sing, clap hands and dance. The same performance continues for a while after reaching their destination. After some time and during the dusk of the evening they return, still singing and dancing, and the girl is placed behind the screen again. The girl is taken away and is supposed to come back a new person. She goes to the hills in broad daylight and comes back in the dusk amidst singing and rejoicing, as if they were welcoming a new arrival to the kraal. The Tembus have a story about birth which mothers tell their children which is also found among Afrikaans people, namely that a woman (the midwife) brings the new baby from the hills or mountains during the night. The *Intonjane's* return symbolizes this new baby's coming from the hills, as a form of rebirth.

The first evening opens, as before, with the admission of the boys to the *Intonjane* hut. From the third day the *umgqungqo* dances start. During the dances the owner of the kraal pays particular attention, to ascertain from which locations the dancers have come since he has to supply meat on feast-day to each of the locations represented. On the Monday of the third week a great feast is held. This is the day the girl is said to *chata* and means the occasion for eating the *Isipika* which will give health and vitality. This *Isipika* serves as the initiation into activity of the driving principles of the new life, or a blossoming forth of a new life.

The day starts with the killing of an ox called the *chata* ox and this, at the same time, fulfils the second sacrifice. The girl is handed the right shoulder *Isipika* according to custom, and the right side of the ox is preserved as food for the girl, the assistants and the girl friends who dance. The left front quarter goes to the women and female relatives. The left hind leg is divided into portions and distributed to the visitors from the different locations. They must not eat this meat at their homes but must grill it (not cook it) on their way home, and not at the *Intonjane* kraal. The men of the kraal receive the brisket. The young men or *abafana* receive the floating ribs and flank which they eat the next morning before they pay for the entertainment. It will be observed that practically all the meat is given to the women as this is the women's affair.

After dinner, the women and girls begin a dance, during which they sing words that convey they are now ready for more meat. This meat for the location people can be taken to their homes. The owner of the kraal now kills sheep and goats until all the locations



Photo by Harold Ewins

THE INTONJANE DANCE

represented are supplied with meat. After this he kills an animal for his own kraal, called *amakayakazi* meaning "meat for the home kraal". Next he kills another animal specially for the dancers, called *ngongobala*.

The girls who foregather at the *Intonjane* hut for the dances and singing at night, divide themselves into groups during the meals. The eldest girls eat in a separate group. The second age group also eat apart and the last age group, or very young girls, form a group by themselves. The *nkazana* and *dindala* eat together but apart from all the other groups.

That night, the young men dance, sing and *metsha* as on previous nights and the following morning their portion of the meat is grilled. After they have eaten the payment for the girls begins. The partner of the senior *nkazana* pays three shillings. The next senior *nkazana* receives two shillings and the other *nkazanas* one shilling and sixpence each from their partners. As was pointed out, the partners of the *nkazanas* only leave their blankets but do not sleep in the *Intonjane* hut since they are elderly men. The *abafana* or young men who participate in the nocturnal affairs pay sixpence each. All this money is collected and taken by the *dindala* to the owner of the kraal. From this collection the *dindala* receives two shillings and sixpence. The head of an *Intonjane* kraal stated that he received from these small payments as much as ten pounds. This gives a fair indication of the numbers attending an *Intonjane* feast as a rule. All the payments are made in the cattle-kraal. When all have paid the wives bring a new drink, which is placed before the head of the kraal. After this, a dish is placed before the owner and the women and girls march past in single file while they deposit their gifts in the dish. These gifts consist of tobacco, matches and money. It is seldom that any one gift is worth less than a shilling.

On the completion of this part of the ceremony the women retire to the huts and the owner selects an orator to go and thank the women for their gifts. On the return of the orator the head sends for some of the old women and points out some more animals for them to kill for meat. The *abafana*, at the request of the wives, now slaughter these animals and for this they receive a share of the meat. After the consumption of all the meat the visitors leave for their homes.

Towards the end of the third week the grass which formed the bedding is removed and burned and fresh grass is placed on the floor. About this time the *nkazanas* take the girl out for a little walk each day. She remains, of course, heavily veiled and covered

with blankets. These little walks take place after the visitors have left for their homes. On these walks she is only seen by her relatives and the girls. Towards evening she is again placed behind the screen and that night the *abafana* are not allowed to come, but the *amakwenkwe* or boys have another dance. It is of interest to note that on her first night behind the screen she was subjected to the company of young boys and girls and thereafter for about three weeks nightly to the company of older girls and young men and now, towards the end of her confinement in the hut, she is again surrounded by the singing, dancing and games of young boys and girls. First it symbolized her progression from childhood and immaturity into adult womanhood. The reason for bringing boys and girls into the hut the second time is evidently to test how she reacts to childhood influences and to show that, having become a woman she can only tolerate children as children and not as her equals.

The next day another animal is killed for the sacrifice of *ngenandlini* which means "Go into the hut". About the time of sacrifice the *nkazanas* and girls talk and sing about *ingilana*, meaning "beer". The girls and *nkazanas* club together and give mealies and kaffir corn to make this beer and the owner of the kraal sees to its brewing. When the beer is ready for consumption, word is sent round and the visitors come back. This occurs well into the fourth week.

Before this beer is served, the *nkazanas* and girls place money in front of the owner of the kraal. The *nkazanas* give from three to two shillings each and the girls give from threepence to sixpence. The *dindala* receives two shillings and sixpence of this money. He now distributes the beer by calling out the name of each location and ends with his own location—*amakayakazi*. After this the owner of the kraal kills another ox and sheep if necessary, to supply meat for the girls. During the time of the beer distribution and killing of the ox the girls and women have been giving a dance for the men.

Another *chata* ceremony is given after this distribution of beer and killing for the girls. During this *chata* ceremony the girls give what may be called exhibition dances. When all the beer has been consumed and the visitors have left, a goat is slaughtered called *Tshisa Inxopo* meaning "burn the grass". The grass is now removed and burned. This is similar to the burning of the *Mkweta* hut in the *Abakweta* ceremony.

The next morning the girl is taken from behind the screen to a hut where the grandmother, aunts, relatives and other women are

assembled. The chief *nkazana* now gives the instructions as follows : " You are a woman " (*Umgumfazi*), and the girl repeats, " I am a woman " (*Ndingumfazi*). The *nkazana* continues :

" You must not be foolish from now on. Great expenses have been made to put you through the ceremony and from to-day you must learn to think for yourself. You must respect the laws and you must remain chaste until your marriage."

The father is now allowed to enter and he thanks the *nkazanas* for caring for his daughter. He presents them with all the skins and hides of the animals killed, as well as some of the money collected. The chief *nkazana* may receive as much as one pound fifteen shillings. The *dindala* receives about fifteen shillings, in addition to the two shillings and sixpence from each pool.

This concludes the *Intonjane* for the unmarried girl.

INTONJANE FOR A MARRIED WOMAN

There is some difference in the ceremonial rites of *Intonjane* in case of a married woman. If her father intends to *tomba* her he sends a messenger to her husband's kraal giving the date on which the *Intonjane* ceremony must begin. When the day arrives, the son-in-law sends his wife with twenty women and two *abafana* (all related to the son-in-law) and ten sheep, to the father's kraal. On arrival, they dance in front of the kraal. At the conclusion of the dance the *nkazanas* come and remove the woman to be *tombaed* and place her behind the screen. The other preparations are the same as previously described.

Two sheep and an ox are killed for the people of the kraal and the bodyguard of the *Intonjane*. After the meal the visitors return to their kraals. Four of the ten sheep are meant for the mother of the *Intonjane* and are given by her son-in-law, but they must be killed for food. One of the four sheep is given to the *nkazanas* for food when they leave after the *Intonjane* ceremony.

The women and two men who accompanied the woman from the husband's kraal leave after the killing and do not return until the day the *chata* feast is held. On this day they return with gifts, but do not enter the kraal ; it is the custom to halt some distance away. While they are waiting, the head of the kraal sends some beer to them. They each have a sip and then continue towards the *Intonjane* kraal.

This beer must be sent to welcome them. On nearing the kraal they form into a single file. Of course they are adorned with all the customary fineries. The single file marches past the crowd assembled and in a spot in front of the head of the kraal they place gifts such as blankets, veils and shawls. All these presents are for the head of the kraal. After this presentation of gifts they are shown to a special hut prepared for them where they stay while an ox is killed and all the meat is taken to the visitors' hut. They send back the right half of the ox.

The *Isipika* from this killing is eaten by the *Intonjane* and her husband together. This is of special significance when the *Intonjane* is given for sterility, and here the same life principle must suffuse both husband and wife and they are both to share in the new life which will emerge as a result of the *Intonjane* ceremony. The visitors remain at the kraal for about two days, eating, and drinking beer.

During this time the husband is allowed to go behind the screen to visit his wife. When they are ready to leave, the husband sends a man to thank his father-in-law for what he has done for the *Intonjane*. They then leave and do not return again. When the *Intonjane* is over the woman who was *tombaed* stays with her parents for a fortnight. The rest of this ceremony, and the meeting of the girls and young men at night, continues as described under the ceremony for a single girl.

If a girl has been penetrated by an *umfana* during the *Intonjane metsha* parties, he is fined a cow or five sheep or goats. If she becomes pregnant he is fined from four to six head of cattle or whatever the father demands.

At no time during any of these sacrifices is any verbal appeal made to the ancestral spirits. The appeal is implicit in the act of sacrifice.

The principle of sympathetic magic runs through the ceremony with this difference from the *Abakweta* ceremonies, that the magic powers which may be utilized for witchcraft are little (if at all) in evidence. The whole ceremony concerns itself rather with the convergence of health and life-giving sympathetic magic influences. The life and meat of each sacrificed animal will add to the new life and health required for her reproductive life.

The ceremony implies her detachment or weaning from her early Oedipus complex attachments. This is especially of interest when one considers the attitude of the wives towards a woman who has

not gone through the *Intonjane* ceremony. The shaving of her genitals implies a castration or circumcision rite and the shaving of her body as a whole connotes the process of rebirth and the emergence and augmentation by sacrifice of the new life principles.

The immediate presence of *metsha* parties is to stimulate by suggestion, and, to the native, by sympathetic magic influences, the development of her heterosexual drives, and thus round off her development as a woman with a woman's attitude towards men as regards sex.

SUMMARY

1. The person who provides *Intonjane* ceremony and the age of *tomba*.
2. The management of the *Intonjane*. *Nkazanas*, *dindala* and cook girl.
3. The commencement of the *Intonjane*.
 - (a) First sacrifice, called *Ngenandlini*.
 - (b) The *metsha* parties.
4. The *Umgqungqo* dances for the men.
5. The second sacrifice—*Chata* and the feast.
6. Donations by *abafana* and women.
7. Removal of *inxopo* and the third sacrifice—also *Ngenandlini*.
8. Beer drink and donations by *Nkazana* and girls.

CHAPTER VIII

TEMBU MARRIAGES

UKUHLOLELA (THE CHOICE OF A FAMILY)

ROMANCE has its place in the love life of the Tembu but not in relation to marriage. Young men and girls have their love-affairs but these seldom, if ever, end in matrimony. Whenever such a couple marry it is more by chance than by design, because marriage and its preliminary arrangements conform more to a game in which many take part than a romance between two people. These ceremonies illustrate the absence of choice on the part of either the bride or the groom. In fact, love is not a component of their nuptial ceremonies. A man may develop such a sentiment towards his wife afterwards, but he is not expected to have it before marriage. Even if a young man has a girl in mind, maybe the recognized lover of his *abakweta* days, he will only be allowed to marry her if his intentions receive the sanction of his grandfather or father. Of course the eldest son looks to his grandfather for the *lobola* and is consequently bound by his choice.

Of outstanding interest in these preliminary arrangements and discussions are the rituals of make-belief: pretence in disguising the object of the discussion by the substitution of different names for animals and people. The native takes a great delight in depreciating his achievements and belittling his assets during these arrangements and negotiations. His main weapon of argument is to present himself as a very needy person. This beggar attitude is shown in his common usage of such words as tramp and vagrant in regard to himself. This attitude enters his business dealings in other spheres as well. It seems almost traditional for a native to present a humble and poverty-stricken front when he is out to bargain for something. It is laughingly acknowledged that this is not a bad method since the white man can use so many clever words.

There are three methods employed by the Tembu in their marriage ceremonies. These are :

1. Marriage to a son of a special family, maybe a headman, a chief or a family held in great respect in the community. This ceremony is called *Ukuhlolela* meaning "to spy".
2. The ordinary marriage where the grandfathers and fathers have approved, called *Ukwenda* meaning "to multiply".
3. Marriage by kidnapping, called *Ukutwala* meaning "to carry".

Should there be a suspicion attached to a family, namely that a member of that particular family is associated with the *Tikoloshe* or *Impundulu*, marriage into that family is avoided.

The son may not have spoken to the girl; in fact, he may only know her by sight, but it is customary that he should first consult his father on the matter and the father consults the grandfather. The chosen girl remains ignorant of the proceedings, bargainings and discussions. All the preliminary arrangements are secret, and generally a girl only realizes she is to be married when she is told to wash and to paint her body with red clay. It is not infrequent that she is married to a man she has never seen before. Naturally complete obedience in these matters is the demand of native custom. Nowadays open rebellion against the father's choice does occur in kraals situated near a town and the girls may consult the Magistrate for protection. This happens only in those areas where tribal traditions are disappearing and where the girl is in love with some young man.

The *ukuhlolela* was a common practice in bygone days among the Tembu people. This does not imply that this custom is now extinct, but it certainly has diminished in prevalence. It still occurs where a family prefers to marry into a family of a different tribe; Tembu into Gaika or Galeka. If the father has decided on the family from which he would like his son-in-law, he sends his son with an assegai. This assegai is called a "mouth". The son visits the other kraal and secretly hides the assegai somewhere in the living-hut of the chosen family. He leaves word with the people of the next kraal so that they may assist in establishing the identity of the owner of the assegai, for it is usually found after his departure and the family may be at a loss to know who left the "mouth".

A day or two later a scout or ambassador makes his appearance at the kraal. He has been sent on this diplomatic secret mission by the father of the bride-to-be. He casually strolls into the kraal for

a few hours' rest, as if he is on his way to some far-distant place. His task is to discover the feelings of the people towards the kraal of the "mouth", and for this purpose he has to exercise all his acumen not to appear as if he is associated with the quest of the assegai. A casual conversation is carried on for some time about crops, cattle and family gossip. The ambassador, in the meanwhile, is pushing the conversation more and more towards the girl's kraal and ultimately he goes into great detail about the magnificent qualities of this bride-to-be. Of course he does not know the girl personally, but all this information has come to his ears from many quarters. It is just unfortunate that he has not a marriageable son, for this girl would make an ideal wife. She is pretty, a hard worker and a beautiful dancer at the *Umgungqo* dances; in fact to his way of thinking she is outstanding to have as many good qualities as have come to his ears. He bemoans his fate that he cannot afford another wife and so he continues to guide the conversation for hours, never forgetting to illustrate any point of advantage by an example from the deeds and accomplishments of the family of the assegai.

Every reaction or opinion expressed by the people is carefully observed by him. Sooner or later someone will mention the assegai and convey the impression that they are in favour of discussing marriage arrangements with the kraal of the assegai. On hearing this, the ambassador usually makes a hurried departure to report his findings. It appears that the people are deceived at first as to the identity of the ambassador and the purpose of his visit, but once the conversation repeatedly veers round to the people of the assegai they enter whole-heartedly into this game of pretence. It may happen that the young man does not fancy the girl in question and that he is supported in this by his father. In such a case he politely returns the assegai and the matter ends there. Should he be a chief's son, the gift of a cow is included in the return of the assegai.

In a case where a chief desires his daughter to marry the son of another chief the usual procedure in marriages of this kind is changed. A young man is chosen who is well known for his running powers. He sets out with the assegai or "mouth" and on reaching the other chief's kraal he plants the assegai in the ground in front of his bodyguard. Now he has to run for it because the bodyguard, to a man, will be after him, and if he is caught he is playfully whipped and becomes a laughing-stock on his return to his chief's kraal. Should he outrun the bodyguard, however, and reach his chief safely, he is



Photo by Author

THE UDULI PROCESSION

rewarded with the gift of a cow. From this stage, if the assegai is not returned after three days, the proceedings take the same course as in the case of a commoner. As far as these investigations could ascertain, these *ukhlolela* marriages actually only occur among chiefs or those of royal blood.

If the assegai is not returned in the usual period of time three intelligent wives from the girl's kraal are chosen to visit the other kraal. On approaching the kraal they sit down some distance away, but so that they are visible to the people of the kraal. When they are seen, someone is sent to enquire where they are going and where they came from. To all this they will give most evasive and non-committal replies. They are then invited to come to the kraal and sleep there for the night, but all the time they will appear undecided, though they make no attempt to proceed further nor to enter the kraal as invited. This peculiar behaviour is a sign to the people that these three women are associated with the quest of the assegai. Much persuasion will now be exercised to make them stay, and at last they consent and are shown to a hut specially prepared for their coming.

Once they have settled in their hut they remain for several weeks, during which time the marriage arrangements and payment of *lobola* are thoroughly discussed in a manner to be described later. While they are at this kraal, one reports from time to time to the girl's father as to the progress of the transaction. There is, as a rule, not much quibbling about the *lobola* in this form of marriage. At the conclusion of the discussions the three women visitors depart for their kraal to make the final arrangements for the *lobola* with the girl's people.

A few days elapse before the *uduli* or bridal party set out for the future husband's kraal. The *uduli* consists of the bride, her bridesmaids, young men, one old man and an old woman. The last two act as chaperons. Their arrival at the other kraal is timed for somewhere about sunset. They again sit down some distance away but so that they can easily be seen from the huts. They cannot enter the kraal until two young men who have been on the look-out for their arrival come out to meet them. The *uduli* presents the two young men with gifts and after these presentations they have the right to enter the kraal. It is essential that the *uduli* bring gifts, otherwise they are debarred from entrance to the bridegroom's kraal. The *uduli* party is shown into the hut where the three women

stayed and, during the course of the evening, the father of the bridegroom sends word that he will see the girl on a certain day.

At sunrise on the appointed day the bride, covered with red ochre on body and face, is taken into the cattle-kraal. The elders are gathered in the form of a semi-circle in the centre of the cattle-kraal. She walks up to them and kneels. When doing this she exposes the upper part of her body to show that she is a girl and unmarried. While kneeling she hides small gifts in the ground, or rather in the dry manure of the kraal floor. Turning from the men she performs the same ceremony outside the kraal in front of the wives and then returns to her hut. These gifts are for the mother and sisters of the bridegroom. The hiding of gifts seems to be a sort of compensation to the mother and sisters of the man for the affection she is going to share; affection and devotion which up to now he owed, and perhaps expressed, to his mother and sisters.

This compensation for love by means of gifts explains the great value a native places on a gift, for a gift implies sympathy, friendship and maybe love. The emotion is, it is accepted, symbolized in the form of a gift as a token of sincerity. Personal experience bears this out, for on the many occasions when gifts were made to natives who rendered some service in the course of these investigations it always evoked the response, *Imazi enetole!* (The cow and its calf), meaning thereby that from now on the bond between us would be similar to that existing between a cow and its calf. The importance of this symbol is its reference to cattle, for the rôle cattle or live-stock in general play in native psychology is little appreciated by those of European culture. Its significance is observed in the prevalent crime of stock theft.

Reverting to the marriage ceremony, after the girl has entered the hut someone calls out to the men of the *uduli*, "*Yatsha inkomo nomazakuzaku!*" meaning "Look out for the ox!" On hearing this call, the men of the *uduli* emerge from their hut to inspect the ox in question. Having done so they retire to their hut again. The ox is killed by the bridegroom and the right half is given to the *uduli*. This gift of the right half of the ox shows that the marriage carries the approval of the elders of that kraal. The right side again indicates the legitimacy of the marriage and further that there are no factors contrary to custom in the union between the two houses, as it involves a killing and invokes the blessings and favours of the ancestral spirits. After this killing the *uduli* drive up the ten head

of cattle they brought with them. The cows are for milking and belong to the bride once she is allowed to drink milk. Among these cows will be the one specially consecrated for the *Isiko Lobulunga*.

A day or so afterwards comes the occasion for the *umsito*, meaning the "gathering of the people", and this marks the beginning of the wedding celebrations. All those attending the wedding bring their own cows, mealies and leather bags for holding the milk. During the celebrations they milk their own cows and eat their own corn and mealies in order to assist in the food supply and relieve the drain on the food stores of the kraal. It is considered very bad form on such occasions if each guest does not contribute his share; hence all sorts of food-stuffs are brought.

When the guests have assembled and the *umsito* is complete, the celebrations commence with a dance. The dance may continue for two or three days, and in the case of a chief's son it may continue for ten days. These dances usually take place in the afternoons and evenings. Before the commencement of the dance the young men of the kraals gather all the cattle (even those brought by the visitors) and drive them past the spectators. The gathering of the cattle is essential before the dance can start in real earnest because the dancers are going to imitate any animal they fancy. They do this by holding their arms in positions symbolizing the horns of the chosen favourite bull or cow. This driving of the cattle occurs every day in order to obtain new ideas for the dancers.

Although the marriage has been solemnized by the killing, the real wedding is not yet. The couple have not exchanged as much as a hand-shake. The day of the wedding proper is called *Umtshata* or *Chata*. The bride, wearing a skirt made of antelope skin or leopard skin, with her trunk bare except for jewellery, marches arm-in-arm with the people of the *uduli* towards the cattle-kraal where again the elders form a semi-circle. In her hand she carries an assegai which she plunges into the ground in front of them. This is the last occasion on which she enters the cattle-kraal, for hereafter she is a wife and is debarred by the taboo from putting her foot inside the gate. She leaves the assegai in the ground and returns to face a crowd of men gathered outside the cattle-kraal. The grandfather or father stands up and in his address to her he enumerates her duties as a wife towards her father, her mother-in-law and her home. At the conclusion of this she returns to her hut. During this time the bridegroom is the most unconcerned person of all those assembled. In fact he is, as

a rule, occupied in chasing the cattle and thinking out new dances. He takes no part in the proceedings except that the girl is going to be his wife. It is the ceremony they are enjoying, not particularly his marriage to the girl. It appears as if the actual union of man and woman is merely incidental and that the girl is marrying the kraal which includes a man by whom she will have children. The ceremony does not imply, "Will you take this man as your husband?" but "You are marrying this kraal which is giving you a husband". The rejoicing at the bride's kraal concerns not her marriage but the *lobola* which they have received.

The *uduli* remains with the bride for a few days after the *Umtshata* ceremony, in order to keep her company while she is getting used to her new home. The *ikazi* or *lobola* fee is handed over to the *uduli* on their departure to take with them to the girl's father. On taking their departure the *uduli* used to give plenty of coloured beads to the "in-laws". This presentation of beads, however, is not practised any more.

This concludes the *Ukuhlolela* marriage ceremony.

THE UKWENDA CEREMONY (MEANING : " TO MULTIPLY ")

In this form of marriage the son approaches his father and states his need for a wife. The father will ask, "How many head of cattle have you?" and the son replies, "You know what I have." Thereafter the father takes over all further arrangements but he in turn consults his own father or uncle on his father's side. According to custom the young man's grandfather or godfather takes over all arrangements and the father has no further say in the matter except to express his approval.

After the son has communicated his wishes to his father the elders of the kraal foregather. One of the eldest wives of the kraal is consulted and she points out the good and bad points of the girls under discussion; in fact, she is indirectly suggesting the girl whom the son should marry, but does not refrain from mentioning somewhat repeatedly that this is only her opinion and she does not want to influence the men in their choice. In the end, however, it is her selection which the men choose. These old women know which girls have been found not chaste after the examinations, and hence this is an important factor in consulting them, for on their opinion depends the size of the *lobola*.

Several points are taken into consideration in this process of choosing a bride. The wives in the kraal from which she comes must have been fertile and have borne many children. There must not be any stigma of crime attached to the family, nor talk of being concerned in witchcraft, especially the *Impundulu*, the *Tikoloshe*, the *Inyoka* or the *Mamlambo*. The family is required to have an honourable name in the community. Secondary considerations are looks and physique, with the exception of menstrual disturbances, since the latter is viewed as detrimental to propagation. The question of the family's wealth or assets is not a consideration.

If the chosen girl is a first cousin on the mother's side she falls within the category of blood ties or incest taboo. This difficulty is overcome by the payment of an extra cow in the *lobola*. Such a payment washes out the incest taboo. The importance of this custom will be appreciated in the discussion on schizophrenia. In fact, the nearness of the family relationship is not a serious consideration.

The usual *lobola* fee is eight head of cattle, and if the father has not sufficient cattle the relatives club together and make good the deficiency. Of course he does the same when one of their sons wants to get married. The size of the *lobola* denotes the honour due to the bride. The men like to boast that they paid so many head of cattle for their wives; in fact there is a name for wives who marry without *lobola*; the old wives say these wives are not married the right way and they are almost classed as concubines. The wives themselves are extremely jealous of their *lobola* value. A wife whose *lobola* was somewhere in the region of four head of cattle appears embarrassed or shy in giving this information whereas one who fetched from eight to ten head of cattle will answer with pride. For instance, at a gathering when I made enquiries about the *lobola* value of some slip of a girl the elders readily answered, "Ten to twelve head of cattle." Hence, in paying a compliment to a native girl one would not say, "She is worth a good husband," but rather "She is worth twelve head of cattle"; such a compliment is greatly appreciated.

When the bride has been chosen, two men are deputed to go and have a look at her, but before they go the father of the bridegroom-to-be throws a black stick to each man saying, "Go quietly and honourably as has been the habit of this kraal and do not let our name be disgraced." If these men are favourably impressed by the girl they straight away discuss the marriage arrangements with her father. The girl's father usually replies, "My people are not gathered here,

but we can discuss matters so that I may have some news for them when we meet." This is another way of saying, "I haven't considered her marriage as yet." In their deliberations about the *lobola* cattle, the cattle are called *imikonto*, meaning *assegais*. In these talks the real names are changed and various substitutes are employed. The important feature of these conversations is that the colour of each ox or cow must be described. The men start by mentioning two *assegais*. The father presses for more by saying, "Don't keep us waiting. Talk about the fourth, the fifth and the sixth. Don't be timid. This matter is going to end satisfactorily. I must have more news for my people." The two men are not allowed to offer more than six head of cattle before again consulting the man who is paying the *lobola*.

On taking their departure for this consultation they say to the girl's father, "The man who sent us said that although he is a tramp he likes this kraal and he will depend on his feet." The latter part means that he will work hard. On leaving, a day is appointed for further negotiations.

When they arrive at their own kraal they give the information of consent as follows, "We have only offered six head of cattle because the man who sent us said he was a tramp. We must return on such and such a day to talk again." Self-abasement is the custom on both sides and the owner of the kraal may be a man with assets but he will always refer to himself as a beggar and a tramp. They go again and offer up to seven head of cattle. One is not mentioned at first but they usually say, "There is another assegai but we do not know its colour." The colour of the eighth "assegai" is later on revealed.

After the *lobola* arrangements, the father of the girl enquires who in their kraal wants his "assegai", meaning his daughter. In their reply they never name the young man by his name but always as the "son of so and so", naming his father. After this information has been imparted he sends the following message to the young man's father, "Here is my message to the fathers", (meaning the father, grandfather and uncles). "My people say two more assegais are required. Furthermore, my assegai is a child and is the wagon of this kraal for conveying food to the lands which are far away. Therefore the fathers of this girl want an animal with a long tail and long ears as well as the ten assegais." The father of the girl speaks about himself in the third person and in the plural as if he is spokesman for

other people. The "people" he referred to is really a collective term for the kraal and the patriarchs of the family. The animal with the long tail and ears is a horse with saddle.

The Tembu elders explain that these matters must be discussed in this manner, for not only does it make the discussions interesting, but it is easy to talk in this manner when one has to ask embarrassing questions. When the two men are told about the horse they say, "Pray for us to the father of this assegai regarding the animal (horse) for such an animal has never been seen at our kraal." They say this, notwithstanding the fact that they have horses at their kraal. The father of the girl then requests a fawn cow, which means ten sheep. With the mentioning of the fawn cow these preliminary arrangements come to an end.

The guests are offered beer but at the same time they are told not to eat any more at this kraal as the people are starving. Of course they are not starving at all. The girl's father again emphasizes the number of "assegaïs" they must bring, but he wants them brought in daylight since he cannot see their colours in the dark. Once the *lobola* cattle have been welcomed into the kraal they cannot be returned; hence he wants to see what he is receiving.

After the messengers have delivered their instructions at their own kraal, preparations are made for taking the *lobola* cattle to the girl's kraal. Nowadays this includes gifts to be taken, usually two bottles of brandy, two shillings' worth of tobacco, ninepence worth of matches, two coloured handkerchiefs and a new tumbler. The driving of the cattle to the girl's kraal is a ceremonial affair. Three men are chosen to drive them. One is the bridegroom's uncle on the father's side, the second is the bridegroom himself and the third is an *umfana* (young man) who must be a first cousin on the father's side or a near relative. The bridegroom and his father leave all these arrangements to the uncle. The fathers of the bride and bridegroom do not discuss anything concerning the marriage between themselves. The girl's father leaves his share in the proceedings in his brother's hands, and behind the scenes the directing minds are the grandfathers or the grand-uncles if the former are dead.

The three men who are to drive the cattle are spectacularly attired for this great occasion. They decorate their bodies with red clay and ornament themselves as follows. The uncle wears an ivory bangle on his arm, a piece of jackal skin round his head and a piece of monkey skin, cut in strips, hangs from his head. Broad neck-bands

of beads adorn his neck, and strips of cloth adorned with beads hang down the front of his chest and down his back to between his shoulders. Copper wire bangles are worn round his legs and beaded frills round his ankles. Numerous brass bangles (called *amaqoqa*) are worn on his arms. He wears a new blanket dyed red and ornamented with buttons and bits of brass. In his hand he carries a polished black stick called *umnqai* as well as his goat-skin bag, ornamented with multicoloured beads.

The *umfana* wears large numbers of beads which cover his chest; this is called the *itumbu*. Over this hangs a beaded garment somewhat similar to the *inciyo*, called the *noncivana*. Over this is another beaded piece called *ilwimi lengwe* (the tongue of the tiger). This hangs down the front like a bib and from it hang strings of beads like the *inciyo*. The *isdanga* is a long string of beads from the neck to the knees. Round his head he wears a monkey skin, cut into strips, with the whiskers of the monkey sewn on. This is called *amaquma*. Over this and around the head comes a string of sea-shells called *ingcaca*. Round the arms are strips of antelope skin about two inches wide. From the ankles to about four inches up the legs are strings of coloured beads called *izatsaba* and copper-wire bangles are wound round the legs and arms. Another outstanding part of his dress consists in the huge brass ear-rings he wears. The rest of the adornments includes the black stick and the beaded goatskin bag.

The bridegroom wears a collar of beads distinct from the rest of the ornaments and this is called the *umkapi* meaning *companion*. He also wears the *izatsaba*, the beads round the ankles and legs, except that in the case of the bridegroom the *izatsaba* extends higher up the leg, and on his head he wears an extra arrangement of sea-shells in the form of a bandeau, the *ingcaca*. His *ingcaca*, *izatsaba* and *umkapi* stamp him as the bridegroom.

When dressed and ready to leave, they are given a shilling's worth of tobacco for their bags. Another shilling's worth of tobacco is divided and tied with three boxes of matches in each handkerchief. One handkerchief is for the men at the girl's kraal and the other is for the women. The brandy is similarly distributed. (The use of brandy in this ceremony is a recent addition, but a very popular addition indeed. The natives obtain the brandy by hook or by crook.) The bridegroom takes five shillings with him for the mother of the girl. Should she be deceased it is given to the girl's nearest female relative who acts as mother. This gift is called *umbalaso yama*

kwehazi (the greetings for mother-in-law). It is said that this gift gives him the right to shake hands with his mother-in-law, but he shakes hands before handing over the five shillings. It appears to be more an expression of sincerity and a manner of obviating any strangeness between them.

Before they leave, the father, grandfather or godfather and one grand-uncle or other elders, enter the kraal to drive out the *lobola* cattle. The father drives the cattle to the grandfather and the grandfather to the grand-uncle. The latter drives them to the three men who must stand quietly and patiently awaiting the driving of the cattle from the one to the other. As soon as the cattle reach them, the grandfather calls out, "*Guba!*" which means, "Drive on!" and the father shouts out "Bring back word!" This refers to the decision as to whether the wedding is to be by kidnapping or not.

They drive the cattle so as to reach the girl's kraal just before sunset. Mention must be made of proceedings from now on, if there is more than one suitor. The several suitors with their cattle arrive at about the same time. The girl is now given the opportunity to select the one she fancies, but as a rule she has been instructed by her father beforehand which man she must favour. Anyway, she proceeds as if the choice is entirely in her hands. She is dressed only in her *inciyo* and dances in front of the suitors, all the time scrutinizing them carefully. Suddenly she stops and drives away one suitor's cattle, comes back and continues the dance until the cattle of the man she desires remain. This man is then her so-called choice, and the others depart.

When the party approaches the kraal with the *lobola* cattle the girl's aunts on the father's side come to meet the cattle. They cross in front of them with their blankets open, making sweeping movements. This means they are sweeping the way clear for the *lobola* cattle to enter the kraal. This honour paid to the *lobola* cattle shows what symbolic value is placed on them, for the health of the *lobola* cattle is closely bound up with the well-being and fertility of the bride. Again, cattle in the marriage ceremony fulfil the rôle of a phallic symbol. After the three drivers have driven the cattle into the kraal, the women disappear into their huts and the three men must sit and wait at the cattle-kraal. It is of interest that only women welcome the cattle; the men remain indoors. After a while a young man of the kraal comes and shuts the gate, leaving the three without paying any attention to them, waiting at the cattle-kraal.

After a time all the men of the kraal come and there is hand-shaking all round. The young man who shut the gate now takes the three visitors to their hut. Hereafter the *lobola* cattle are inspected by the other men of the kraal. The horse, if one is included in the *lobola*, is left outside the kraal.

When the inspection is over the men enter the visitors' hut and say to the bridegroom, "We have inspected the cattle and they are splendid, son of so-and-so." From now on starts the game of pretence. For instance, they will say, "It is a pity we are starving, but you can sleep here." At the same time a barrel of beer is brought into the visitors' hut. A goat is brought to the door of the hut with the usual assertions of poverty, but all the same the visitors are told that they may eat the goat. The *abafana* of the kraal kill the goat and the *Isipika* meat is served to the bridegroom while the others eat of the right shoulder as well.

After this the girl's uncle on her father's side comes on the scene. He welcomes the visitors and tells the bridegroom he is glad that the son of so-and-so is marrying into the kraal but he must not be adversely influenced by the poverty of the kraal. A young man brings four buckets of beer, drinks a little out of each and places the buckets in front of the visitors. The uncle orders two buckets of beer to be taken to the owner of the kraal and in the meantime the liver of the goat is served to the visitors. These samples of food, as well as the *Isipika* eaten by the bridegroom, do away with the first meal taboo for the bridegroom and his companions and they are now free to eat as much as they like.

The *umfana* returns from the owner of the kraal and states that he (the owner) would like some of the water the visitors brought with them (meaning brandy). The uncle of the bridegroom is the spokesman; the bridegroom never utters a word. The uncle sends back word to the owner of the kraal that they (the visitors) have no home and no water since they are tramps and beggars (*Ihlwempu*). The owner sends word back to say that they are also tramps and that people in poverty and distress must help each other. The uncle now produces a bottle of brandy, the tobacco and matches tied in the handkerchief.

The next morning the *nkazana* and *umfana* cook their breakfast and give them water to wash with. After the morning ablutions the women of the kraal enter the visitors' hut to welcome them. If the bridegroom shakes hands with them they know he has brought the

umbalaso yama kwehazi. A general conversation is carried on, but its main object is to ascertain the extent of the food supply at the bridegroom's kraal. The pretence and game of deception is not indulged in in this discussion, but the provisions and food for the wedding are discussed in great detail. When this matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all concerned, the bridegroom hands the five shillings (*umbalaso yama kwehazi*) to his uncle, who, in turn, places the money before the mother-in-law, saying, "Here is some money with which your son-in-law likes to greet you, since he cannot bear not to shake hands with you." The woman returns two shillings and sixpence and thereby pays for her privilege of shaking hands with him. This little ceremony shows the giving and reciprocation of affection, and from now on they are no longer strangers but a bond of sympathy and sincerity is established by his admission to the family. The women also praise him for his consideration in bringing this gift to obviate any strangeness in their relations as members of one family.

After the women have departed for their own hut an *umfana* appears. The visitors ask him who he is and where he came from, again pretending they do not know the man who shut the gate of the cattle-kraal and cooked their food. In reply he states that his mother sent him to ask for some tobacco, to which the uncle replies that they left their kraal without any gifts since they are poor vagrants and tramps. The *umfana* departs to deliver this message but soon he is back again saying that the women request their share of the tobacco since they know the visitors are not tramps or vagrants. With this outspoken request the uncle produces the tobacco and matches tied in the handkerchief, as well as the bottle of brandy. The word "tobacco" in this instance means brandy. The women in return send a tumbler of this brandy to the uncle of the bridegroom. He takes a good share and then hands the tumbler round to his companions. After he is warmed by the brandy he sends back word to say that the women must not be bored with their company because these two kraals are going to be like one kraal if he is to judge by the present hospitality extended to him and his companions.

The girls of the kraal and the surrounding kraals (with the exception of the bride) now enter the visitors' hut. They seat themselves on one side against the wall and say to the visitors, "*Yenzani!*" meaning "Do it". The visitors each choose a girl. The uncle has preference in first choice. Each visitor may have as many as three

or four girls. After an exchange of compliments the girls take their leave. This custom of saying "*Yenzani*", is merely a subterfuge of the girls' to inspect the visitors, especially the bridegroom, for one can be assured that even the bride must be curious and will immediately be informed as to his looks and appearance. The wives state that although the bride may appear unconcerned, she is the first to welcome the girls on their return.

After the girls have left, the *umfana* fills four buckets of beer out of the barrel in the visitors' hut. Two buckets he presents to the visitors and two buckets are for the men of the kraal. The uncle of the bridegroom now requests that two more buckets be filled for the women. The women, in return, send profuse thanks to the uncle for his kind consideration for their needs. Some time is spent in drinking the beer and after the buckets have been drained the uncle sends word to the girl's father asking for the way home. The girl's father replies that their visit has been a pleasant affair but that there was some talk about a "hornless cow" (which means ten sheep) and it is his desire that this cow be brought before the proceedings continue any further. Then all the men of the kraal congregate at the visitors' hut saying, "We hear you are asking for the way home. Here is the question you must take with you. Is the girl to be kidnapped or shall we bring her in a procession?" The uncle of the bridegroom replies that it is the wish of the bridegroom's father that they give an *uduli*. This means a proper wedding and not kidnapping.

Before the visitors leave, the girl's uncle enumerates all her defects; the illnesses she has had and whether she has gone through the *In-ton-jane* ceremony. He adds that should anything not be up to expectations with the wedding they must not blame him since he is only a tramp and will have to work hard to provide all that is required by the bride. The *nkazana* accompanies the visitors some distance on their way and helps them to carry the meat given them by the girl's kraal. This does not imply that they actually require help to carry the meat but it is considered a form of courtesy and implies that they are carrying away the good wishes of the girl's kraal. During my many visits to kraals in the Transkei the heads frequently showed their appreciation by instructing the girls to accompany me to my car with dance and song. Thus when a native escorts one away from his kraal it means that his best wishes accompany one, and to be escorted by song and dance is indeed an honour.

The preparation of the trousseau starts after the return of the uncle and the *abafana*. In the olden days the girl's trousseau consisted of clay pots, clay buckets, clay dishes and some dishes made by weaving grass and smearing the articles with beeswax. The spoons were made of wood and articles of clothing of skin. The teeth of slaughtered animals took the place of the present-day beads. To-day all articles are bought from the numerous trading stores scattered about the native territories. The cheap tin utensils supplied by the stores for their simple domestic requirements have prevented the native from developing artistic ability in decorating his home and making articles required for his domestic use. The making of pottery is dead among the Tembu. Among the Fingo one finds evidence of home decoration in the form of simple flowers painted on the walls of the huts and a white border round the outside of the doorway. The only artistic ability they display is narcissistically portrayed in ornamentation and decoration of the body, but not in the utilitarian sphere.

The preparation of the trousseau is an interesting and fairly intricate affair. There is, for instance, a definite ritual in the purchase of these articles. Some must be bought before the others and each article is given its special name. Three sleeping-mats are bought first. A sleeping-mat is called *inkuko*. The largest mat will be used by the bride and groom to sleep on, and the other two the bride sleeps on at the bridegroom's kraal before she is married. Next come two small mats on which they grind the mealies and corn and these are called *izitebe*. Then come two strainers made of grass and called *inthluzo*, and with these two brooms made of straw called *iminyani*. These articles are usually obtained from amongst the natives themselves.

Once the first part of the trousseau has been acquired, a grand shopping expedition begins. All the girls and women, accompanied by their men friends, set out for a day's shopping. A visit to the shops is at all times a most enjoyable experience for the native. From three to four may go to buy half a pound of coffee. They arrive at the shop in the forenoon, sit about and talk leisurely for hours and make the purchase late in the afternoon and then expect a present from the shopkeeper in return.

The shopping expedition for the trousseau is a long-drawn-out affair ; as each article is bought it is paid for, talked over and inspected thoroughly before they proceed to the next item. The trader usually

has the patience of Job. The articles are bought in the following order :

A pot for one pound, called *uponti*, meaning a pound.

An axe, called *izenjana*.

A bucket (galvanized), called *icmele*.

A tin bucket, called *izomo*.

A tin bucket (for men) called *amakaya*.

A bucket (for women) called *umxilibela*.

Two buckets of smaller size, called *ibekile ze shelene*.

A white enamel bucket (the smallest of all), called *umhlots hazana*, which means " the little white one ".

A ladle, called *umcepe*.

Dishes.

Cloth for skirts, braid, black cloth for head-gear, ear-rings, two small chains for wearing round the ankles, large beads called *amaso*, bodice material called *incebeta*, soap, cotton, small beads, etc.

The entire trousseau costs about seven pounds ten shillings. The skin skirt is made at home, as well as long strings of beads which are worn from the neck to the knees and called *isiduga*. They also of course obtain ochre, *imbola*.

When the trousseau is complete the people who are to accompany the bride to the wedding are chosen. These consist of three men. One is the bride's uncle on the father's side and of the two *abafana* one is the young man who acted as messenger during the negotiations. He is called *unozakuzaku*. It will be remembered that he is also the *umfana* who shut the kraal-gate after the *lobola* cattle were driven in. The *unozakuzaku* acts as jester ; in fact, he is the funny man at the party. The other *umfana* need not be a relative but he must be a good dancer and handsome. The women consist of two *nkazanas*. One must be an aunt on the father's side. The other need not be a relative. A number of unmarried girls, friends of the bride, make up the rest of the party. If the bride has any unmarried sisters, they accompany her. If the *unozakuzaku* has a sister she is taken as well.

The three men dress in a similar fashion to the three who brought the *lobola* cattle, with the exception that the *unozakuzaku* wears a kilt. The girls and women wear skin skirts and black cloths round their heads. In addition the *nkazanas* wear ostrich feathers and *incebetas*, while the girls are adorned with beads.

At the bridegroom's kraal plenty of food is gathered and a hut is prepared for the wedding party. The father of the bride buys four bottles of brandy and the day of her departure is a great occasion. A goat is killed, called *Umngcama* (similar to the *mkweta's* first sacrifice), and the bride is fed with *Isipika* while her party or *uduli* eats the right shoulder. After this sacrifice the bride and *uduli* bathe in the river. On their return from the river they change into their wedding clothes. Again we observe the *Isipika* as designating the girl as the legitimate girl to be married and giving extra strength and health for the ordeal, as well as the purification rite at the river.

After the *uduli* is dressed for the occasion the bride, carrying a mat and accompanied by the *uduli* with the exception of the wives of the party, proceeds to the cattle-kraal. In the kraal she spreads the mat in front of her on the ground and stands facing the elders and other men of the kraal. She shows her distress at having to leave her home and she usually weeps at this stage of the proceedings. It appears to be the custom that she should weep, for if she is unconcerned about leaving her father's kraal it would indicate that she was not happy there and would be a sign of disrespect for her parents. Again, her emotions may be genuine since she may not know whom she is going to marry.

When she has spread the mat, her father steps forward and addresses her as follows,

"My child, to-day I am marrying you to so-and-so's kraal (mentioning the groom's father's name). Your grandmother was a girl like you and even she did not wish to be married but her parents, your ancestors, persuaded her and as a result of their decisions we are here to-day for she brought us into the world so that we in turn should bring children into the world. Therefore you must be married and produce your own children, so that they can work for you when you grow old, as we are providing for our mothers and grandmothers to-day.

"You must not be obstinate at your husband's kraal and refuse to take orders from others, thinking that because you are my daughter you are better than others. Be careful so that no one may have cause to think you are lazy, nor ever accuse you of being a thief, nor ever accuse you of keeping company with *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* or *Inyoka*. You must not beat the children of that kraal if they are naughty or disrespect you. Their elders are there for that purpose. Look out and show respect for your elders. Do not speak to them in a rude manner but help to grind corn for them. Do not think that because you are married to your husband you must help him alone. Of course you must help your husband, weed his lands, thatch his huts, because you will have to

work with your husband in order to have your own kraal. When you rise in the morning, don't remain in the *entangeni* hut where you slept with your husband, but go to the big hut where your father and mother-in-law live and make a fire for them."

This address is given by the grandfather if he is alive.

She is now taken to where the wives are assembled. The *uno-zakuzaku* carries the mat and spreads it for her in front of the wives. She again takes up her position facing them. The grandmother, if alive, gives this address. If not, the mother of the girl speaks.

"It is to-day a great pleasure for me to see you get married as a chaste girl and not as one who has had a child before marriage. But do not think that because I examined you I was worried about your not being a chaste girl. I was not afraid you would become pregnant before your marriage. You do not know where you are going; maybe the people will be hard on you. They may even call you names such as thief, witch, etc. You must remember to speak politely to everybody at the kraal and not stare at people. When you go for water, do not waste your time by playing and chatting with girls because you are a married woman from to-day and no longer a child.

You must not commit adultery with other men and you must try and have a child as soon as possible so that the others can show you respect and not treat you as a young person.

You must see that the old people have food; therefore rise early, wash yourself and draw water for the kraal. You must not sit by the fire, but work and keep warm. Your 'in-laws' may invite you to come and sit by the fire. You must refuse, for they may be testing you. Always remember to stay on your side of the hut and not to cross over to your father-in-law's side, for this will mean you do not respect him as head of the kraal. You will only be released from these many taboos by having children. After you have had children the people of that kraal will like you because you will have daughters to bring back *lobola*."

A woman who has no children is looked down upon. They say she is good for nothing since she cannot even repay the cattle spent on her *lobola*. This oration by the grandmother shows why birth control is not practised among the natives.

After these warnings and addresses by the elders of the girl's kraal, they select an ox which the *uduli* drives along to the bridegroom's kraal. This ox is called *umputulo*. On leaving they take with them all the articles previously enumerated as part of the trousseau. The father and grandfather command them in a gruff and off-hand manner to leave the kraal. This, of course, is meant to disguise their emotions and to make it appear to the bride that her departure is really nothing to them.



UNOZAKUZAKU

Photo by Author

The journey is a leisurely one and is timed so that they arrive at their destination just about sunset. It will be observed that sunrise and sunset are two important time periods in native culture. When the bride and *uduli* arrive, but while they are still some distance from the kraal, two *abafana* come to meet them to enquire where they came from and where they are bound for. In reply the *uduli* mentions the name of any old place but requests shelter for the night at the *abafana's* kraal. At this request the *abafana* say, "*Tundani!*" meaning "Pay money". The *uduli* hands over a few coins and the *abafana* retire to the kraal. After a while they return and show the *uduli* into a specially prepared hut. The *unozakuzaku* asks for a place to leave the ox, as they are continuing on their journey in the morning. After the ox has been driven into the cattle-kraal and the *uduli* people have cooked their supper, a *kwenkwe* or boy puts a short stick in at the door of the hut saying, "*Tundani!*" The *uduli* party do not answer him but hand over a bottle of brandy. After a while the boy returns and says, "Thanks for the brandy, but where is the *isilanda?*" meaning the "corkscrew and the thing to drink out of". The *uduli* hand him ninepence to pay for these articles.

When the supper is served the *uduli* send, by means of the *unozakuzaku*, all the meat they brought and cooked to the people of the kraal. Of the *uduli* only the uncle of the bride receives a small piece of meat. The people of the kraal return the compliment by sending the *uduli* a bucket of beer and with it word that they have never had visitors before who gave them meat and that therefore the visitors must be very charming people. The *unozakuzaku* in turn thanks them for the beer and at the same time makes some sarcastic remarks about the thirst of the old man in his party (the bride's uncle). He also playfully requests that they correct his bad manners and mistakes, while all the time he is most polite in his conduct.

The next morning the *unozakuzaku* washes first while the *nkazana* makes the fire and the uncle prepares the *imbola*. Another interesting feature of this preparation is that the *unozakuzaku* has to steal wet cow-dung secretly from the cattle-kraal. If he is caught in the cattle-kraal he is fined a goat. This cow-dung is used by the bride and the girls to smear on their faces as a basis for the *imbola*. This is another incident which portrays the value placed on cow-dung. It serves as a means of paying homage to the dignity of the kraal, especially to the authority of the elders of that kraal. The *uduli* party smear their bodies with *imbola* before they put on their clothes and jewellery.

Just before sunrise the *unozakuzaku* asks the people of the kraal for an assegai and assistance to kill his ox. The usual procedure of first stabbing the ox in the belly is carried out, and as the ox bellows all the men of the kraal shout, "*Inkwenkwe!*" meaning, "A son!" and they add, "We hope you people have not brought us a barren woman for she must be as fresh as the ox." The word "fresh" here means healthy.

While the ox is being skinned the elders call the bridegroom to them. The father addresses him as follows:

"You see, we are giving you a wife. You must jump her for we want to see her produce children. (At this ceremony the word 'jump' is used for sexual relations.) You must not beat her. She is not yours but mine. All that is yours is the blanket. You must work for her and clothe her and remember the first child is mine. Everything that is given to you must be brought home and shared with your wife. The *abakweta* ceremony made you a man but now you are a married man."

The father's warning has reference to the first-born as his. This means that the first son is the heir of his grandfather. The first-born son is called *umzukulana*.

The *uduli* receives the right side of the ox and the people of the kraal the left, while the skin is given to the bridegroom's aunt. Hereafter the children of the kraal visit the *uduli* hut and ask for money. They are given a penny each. Next come the young girls and they are given threepence each. After them come the wives of the kraal and they receive from one shilling to two shillings each. Last in the procession comes the oldest wife and she receives five shillings.

After this *tundani* the *uduli* is asked for the *ushiki*, meaning another bottle of brandy. The uncle of the *uduli* replies that they have explained that they are tramps and penniless. All they have brought is the wife that the kraal needed. The father of the bride did not provide them with such a thing as brandy though, of course, the people are not wrong in asking for it, since by custom they are entitled to expect such a gift; but under the circumstances the *uduli* is too poverty-stricken to harbour such luxuries. So they banter and play at pretending for quite a while, sending messengers from one group to the other, each trying to be more cleverly deceptive than the other, until ultimately the bottle of brandy is handed over. This play at make-belief and misleading each other is an essential part of this ceremony. It reminds one of little children playing at shop. The more disguised an implication can be framed the more it is appreciated

and applauded. Their conception of wit and humour concerns the proficiency at playing this game of deception. In return for the brandy the *uduli* is given a dish of beans and mealies boiled together (a popular native dish).

The *unoꝛakuꝛaku* distributes meat from the *uduli*'s share of the ox to the father and mother of the bridegroom and they in turn send them of their meat. The feasting and drinking of beer, coupled with exchange of portions of meat, continues for days. Every day the *uduli* is supplied with a dish of boiled beans and mealies. The relatives of the kraal living elsewhere send beer for the occasion. When all the *impotulo* meat is eaten the people of the kraal present the *unoꝛakuꝛaku* with a goat called *inkobe*, meaning "whole cooked maize", for when they have eaten this goat the *uduli* members are allowed by custom to eat maize at the kraal. The rest of the week is spent in feasting, dancing and the game of pretence; everybody is having a great time, except the bride and her maids.

On the Monday of the following week they all dress up in *imbola* and fineries. Word is sent to the *nkaꝛana* and uncle of the bride that they are going to steal the girls. This means that the women of the kraal are going to have a look at the bride and the girls of the *uduli*. It must be mentioned here that during this time at the bridegroom's kraal, the bride and *uduli* girls are hidden behind a screen in the hut, as during the *Intonjane* ceremony, and they are not allowed out during the day. Thus the women of the kraal must satisfy their curiosity about the bride and bridesmaids. The bridegroom, of course, has not been near his bride.

On the Tuesday they dress as before, except that nothing is put on their faces. After dinner the men of the kraal shout, "*Puma noꝛakuꝛaku!*" which means "Come out, *noꝛakuꝛaku*!" This is the signal for the *uduli* party to emerge from their hut. They do so in single file led by the uncle, the others following in order, the junior *nkaꝛana* followed by three girls, then the bride followed by the senior *nkaꝛana* and lastly the *umfana*. The *unoꝛakuꝛaku* fulfils the rôle of a court jester or clown at this ceremony. He grimaces, strikes postures, performs funny antics, imitates members of the party or acts the part of a simpleton. He mixes freely with the rows of girls watching the procession, tickles them and slaps them. The girls find a great delight in chasing and playfully beating him while he pretends to be very shy of girls and imitates their giggles. The *unoꝛakuꝛaku* carries a bucket where the old court jester carried a bauble. With this

bucket he will calmly squat down behind someone and pretend to be milking a cow. This usually causes roars of laughter, especially his many asides as to the poor milk supply of the cow. Or he will run alongside of the leader of the procession, keeping up a patter as follows, "Ah! look at your feet how dirty they are! Did the people tell you they have water in this kraal? Don't look so proud; one would think you own this kraal, but your feet give you away because you don't know where the river is." The people of the kraal enter into the spirit of the affair, egged on by the *unozakuzaku* and they in turn will shout remarks at the bride. "We hope you are not lazy. We hope you are not a witch and that you can work with your hands and cook, for the old people of this kraal eat soft foods." Of course the *unozakuzaku* will cap this by some witty remark about the size of their lands, the food they eat and the looks of their women-folk. Swinging his bucket, chasing and embracing giggling girls, he darts hither and thither through the people.

Among the spectators lining the path of the *uduli* are several women of the kraal enacting before the eyes of the bride the various tasks she will be required to perform at her husband's kraal. One is occupied grinding corn with two flat stones, another carries a bundle of firewood on her head, another a bucket of water, others carry out movements symbolising the washing of clothes, sweeping with a broom, thatching roofs and so on.

The ceremony in this respect is a form of initiation into the duties of married life. The play is intended not only to illustrate what is expected of the bride but it is assumed to operate on her by a form of sympathetic magic or suggestion. The instructions are not only verbally given but are acted out as concrete symbols. By witnessing this play of the duties of married life the bride becomes imbued with the same spirit and is psychically prepared to function as is expected of her by the people of the kraal.

While all this is going on the *uduli* procession proceeds in a slow, dignified, funereal manner. All the members are covered with their blankets and the girls wear black veils over their faces. The procession halts in the centre of the cattle-kraal where the elders are assembled. Facing the elders they form two rows. In the front row are the two men and the senior *nkazana*, while the second row consists of the bride and her bridesmaids. All the time the *unozakuzaku* is playing the fool among the women and girls assembled outside the kraal. As soon as the two rows are formed the people in the first row open

their arms, clasping one corner of the blanket in each hand, thus forming an effective screen for shutting out the girls in the back row from the gaze of the elders. When so shut off the girls and the bride kneel, push back the veils from their faces and allow the blankets to fall from their shoulders, exposing the upper and naked parts of their bodies. The blankets are placed around the hips. When the second row is properly arranged the junior *nkazana* gives the signal and the front row allow their arms to fall to their sides. The girls are now seen by the men, only for the screen to go up immediately. The men pretend they have not seen enough by shouting, "We want to see the wife." The front row again lower their arms for a brief moment to allow the men another peep and on this occasion all the girls present their backs. The bride hides some coins in the ground where she kneels. This money is for the *umfana* who accompanied the bridegroom when they took the *lobola* cattle to her father's kraal.

After the party have been exhibited to the men they leave the cattle-kraal in the same manner and order as before, and this time they present themselves to the women waiting at the huts. The same performance is enacted with the exception that the wives are given more time to look and appraise the bride and bridesmaids. After they have been viewed by the women, the *uduli* people retire to their hut.

An interesting ritual is hereafter performed, in which the cattle of the kraal play an important rôle. The boys and young men gather the cattle which have been hidden some distance from the kraal and drive them in a stampede towards the cattle-kraal. As the herd comes charging along, the wives of the kraal form a line to obstruct their advance and prevent them from entering the kraal. The boys and young men shout and urge the cattle on. The wives wave and shout to drive the cattle back. The young men, by smacking, hitting, pushing and shouting, at last break the cordon of women, who fly in the face of the charging herd, and drive the cattle into the kraal with great cries of excitement and jubilation and shouts of "*Inkwenkwe ! Inkwenkwe !*" (A son ! A son !) The natives claim that if the herd ignores the women and rushes through them, scattering them as it enters the kraal, the omen is good, for the bride will be fertile and bear a son. If the women succeed in turning the herd, the omen is bad and the woman will be sterile. The entering of the cattle into the kraal is symbolic of penetration and overcoming the resistance of the woman in coitus. Once in the kraal, the seat of

fertility as the home of the fertile cow, it becomes symbolic of fruitful gestation. The kraal is in this respect also symbolic of the seat of gestation or womb. The cattle thus assume the rôle of a phallic symbol and become the chief characters in this dramatic play symbolizing coitus and propagation.

When the cattle are in the kraal the *uduli* uncle is called and shown an ox by the elders, with these words, "Here is the ox with which we wed the girl." The ox is killed in the usual manner and they all shout "*Camagu Inkwenkwe!*" (Bless us with a son). This is an appeal to the ancestors to intercede for a blessing on the union of the couple. After the ox is skinned the *uduli* uncle is again called, and on this occasion he takes four bottles of brandy, and these are given to the eldest brother of the bridegroom's father, who in turn distributes them as follows. One bottle is for the *nkažanas* of that kraal. The second is given to the *abafaži* or elderly women of the kraal. The other two bottles are divided into four portions, or half-bottles, and are called *Uszwaži elinem mbaxa*, meaning "a gift with two prongs". The first half-bottle is called *amakaya* for those at home. The second half for the surrounding locations is called *ezižewe*. The third is poured into small glasses and refers to each district represented there. The fourth is given out in half-glasses. This is for the districts far away. With each glass is eaten a piece of meat cut from the flanks of the slaughtered ox and called *iziqomiso*. This distribution of drinks conforms to our idea of toasts, but at the same time it conveys the idea of sacrifice and a wish for health and blessings.

The bridegroom's people in return send bottles of brandy called *Uszwaži elinem baxa* to the *uduli*. These they may drink there or keep and take home with them to the girl's father, who provided the *uduli* with the brandy which they distributed to the people of the kraal. The question of reciprocity in native culture will be dealt with later.

The meat of the slaughtered ox is kept in the cattle-kraal and cannot be brought out until the *uduli* have first paid for various items. The uncle of the *uduli* pays as follows: one shilling for the *riem* used in tying the ox and one shilling for the assegai used for stabbing the ox. As soon as this payment is made the meat is brought out and taken to the *uduli* hut. The *unožakužaku* removes all traces of blood in the kraal, digging and covering with earth the pools of dried blood. This is to prevent excitement among the cattle, which leads to fights at the smell of blood. This is a common reaction in cattle to the

smell of blood, especially when cattle have been slaughtered ; but to the natives it has a further meaning. A fight among the cattle at this ceremony may, by sympathy, produce bad blood among the people of the kraals and interfere with the union of the bride and groom, since all must be in harmony for the wedding ceremony.

The *uduli* send the left side of the ox back to the people of the kraal, but each section is sold and the money is collected by the senior *nkazana* of the bridegroom's kraal. The uncle of the *uduli* pays one shilling for the left shoulder, one shilling for the hind leg, two shillings for the back-bone, two shillings and sixpence for the head and ninepence for the intestines. The other internal organs are not sold but divided into three portions, one for men, one for the *uduli*, and the rest for the women.

A strip of meat cut from the back-bone, called *intsonyama*, is eaten the day the beer is served by the bridegroom and his father. The silverside (*incongwana*) or steak, is cut out of both hind-legs and given to the *amakwenke* or boys. The bride eats *Isipika* and the right shoulder. In the *uncongwane* meat is a strip of fat called *uvatsha*. This strip of fat meat is kept as a prize for the winners of the stick fight contest among the older boys. This fight is usually a vigorous affair because crowds of spectators are assembled to shout encouragement, and if the elders do not intervene, broken skulls may result. The small boys or *amakwenkwana* receive the large bowel, and the small girls or *intwanaazana* are given strips from the neck and trotters. After this the *uduli* are allowed to cook outside. The women now *ncamla* by sending a glass of brandy from their bottle to the *uduli* hut. Strips of meat from the brisket are cut for each location. The names are called out for each representative to come forward.

Towards sunset the *uduli*, under the leadership of the uncle, proceed again in single file to the gate of the cattle-kraal where they stop. The man who acted as *indindala* at the *Intonjane* ceremonies of that kraal calls out, "Here comes the *amantwenyana*." This is the name given to the females of the *uduli* during the ceremony. The girls are dressed in skin skirts and heavily veiled. The *indindala* then turns to the *abafana* of the kraal and shouts, "*Masibabe !*" (Let us divide the girls). The *indindala* lifts each veil and selects the most attractive girl for himself. After this he allots a girl to each *umfana*. The senior *nkazana* is given to an old man who will not come and visit her. Each *umfana* represents his location and they are usually selected beforehand and instructed to be present on that day. If he is not

present, the *umfana* is fined. The bride is not amongst the *uduli* girls. She remains in the hut.

At this *Masibabe* ceremony they tease the uncle of the *uduli* by telling him they have no girl for him and that he must sleep alone that night and not be a spoil-sport and interfere with them. The *uduli* return to their hut while all the men, including the bridegroom, are called to the cattle-kraal. When all the men have assembled at the cattle-kraal the father of the bridegroom addresses the gathering. He explains that they require dishes to treat their visitors according to custom. It is essential that they have dishes so as not to disgrace the honour of the kraal. "Dishes" means beer. He appeals to all present to contribute something towards these dishes. A general discussion ensues, excuses are made, but in the end each and everyone contributes his mite towards the brewing of the beer. After this gathering has dispersed the *uduli* females are shown where to draw water and gather wood, by the women of the kraal. By this act they receive the freedom of the kraal, as it were.

Later on in the evening the young men or *abafana* to whom girls have been allotted, also the bridegroom, are collected by the *indindala* and taken to a separate hut. Next the *nkazanas* bring the bride and girls of the *uduli* to this hut. The senior *nkazana* also brings the nuptial mat, on which the bridal couple have to sleep. This part of the ceremony may be considered as the nuptial rite. The chief *nkazana* spreads the sleeping-mat saying to the bride, "Here is your husband!" and the *indindala* addresses the groom, "Here is your wife!" By this rite of spreading the mat the marriage is finally sealed.

The occupants of the hut are divided. The bridal couple sleep on one side and the rest on the other side of the hut. The *abafana* and girls, sleeping two under a blanket, are allowed to *metsha*, but they really serve as an audience to observe what transpires between bride and groom. It is the custom that a girl should resist intercourse and in fact shout if she is *virgo intacta*. At times she shouts so loudly that her cries can be heard in other huts of the kraal. It has happened that when a girl has struggled so much that penetration was impossible, the bridegroom has called his brothers or other near relatives to hold her down. They call this the taming of the bride. These occurrences are rare. Elders agree they know of cases that have happened but only very infrequently. The bride must shout and resist. This is expected of her. Pretence, no doubt, plays a

great part in this ceremony, for if a bride does not shout and struggle it means she is no longer a virgin.

The *abafana* and girls in the hut that night listen attentively for the bride's struggles and protestations. In some cases the elders listen anxiously outside the hut. As soon as the bride shouts they all laugh because their anxieties have been relieved and they now have evidence that she is a chaste girl. This scene was previously enacted by the women in their resistance to the cattle entering the cattle-kraal. Elders mention their shyness at the time of marriage when describing the ordeal of this wedding night, but when they look back after many years they find it very amusing.

When the young men and girls in the wedding (or better honeymoon) hut, are satisfied as to the bride's chastity they devote themselves for the rest of the night to their own flirtations. On the following night the young married couple have no audience; thereafter the *abafana* and girls sleep in their hut every night until the *uduli* leaves.

The morning after the first night it is the duty of the *abafana* to polish the skin skirts of the *uduli* girls. After this the whole party, young men, girls and bride, under the leadership of the *unoꝛakuzaku*, leave for the river to bathe. This is continued daily as long as the *uduli* is at the kraal, and after they have left, the bride takes her morning bath before dawn so as not to be seen. Should she take her bath at the river late in the day, it is considered disrespectful to the head of the kraal. This morning bathing is carried out by the bride until she is pregnant, when she is allowed to wash herself in warm water at the kraal.

In response to the appeal of the owner of the kraal for contributions of beer, people come from surrounding kraals and distant locations with barrels or buckets of beer. The beer of the kraal is brewed by the *uduli*. When this beer is ready for consumption it is placed in a special hut. The members of the *uduli* having charge of the brewing now collect all the contributions of beer and mix it with that brewed at home. Several barrels of beer are thus filled. When all is in order the *nkazanas* and the men of the *uduli* dress up as they did on the day they brought the bride. The visitors and *uduli* adjourn to the beer hut, where the *uduli* sit on the left side and the kraal people on the right. The *indindala* ladles beer out of each barrel for the uncle of the *uduli* to taste. After sampling all the barrels the uncle chooses the one he prefers and this is forthwith sent to the *uduli* hut.

Dancing and singing take place in the beer hut for a while. This is really a consecration of the beer.

Beer on these occasions has, for the native, a similar meaning, though not explicitly understood, as wine has for the Christian at the Holy Communion. It has some association with the lives of the ancestors, that is, their spiritual lives; and this consecration of the beer practically means sharing a common factor with the ancestors and hence brings about a harmony of feeling and aspirations and facilitates their approval of the proceedings. A special name (*unqunge*) is given to this dance in the beer hut, so as to distinguish it from an ordinary dance. At the conclusion of the *unqunge* beer is distributed to the various kraals and locations by the *indindala*. A barrel is placed near the road leading past the kraal for passers-by, and this barrel of beer is called *usmaimai*, for no one shall pass the kraal and not be refreshed by the consecrated beer. The traveller may drink and go on his way with goodwill in his heart towards the people who made all this possible.

The women and the men drink their beer and dance in separate groups until after sunset. That evening the *indindala* calls together all the men to whom he allotted girls and collects payments of money from each of them. The partner of the senior *nkazana* pays three shillings and that of the junior *nkazana* pays two shillings. The *abafana* pay sixpence each. Even the bridegroom is charged four shillings. When, in the course of these investigations, the *indindala* was asked why the bridegroom must pay four shillings, his prompt reply was, "Ah! but he receives the most value." The evening of the beer-drinking the *abafana* and *uduli* girls are not allowed to *metsha* or sleep next to each other for fear that their desires may be stimulated by the beer and lead to sexual intercourse.

On the following day the *uduli* uncle approaches the father of the bridegroom and asks to see the hornless fawn assegai. He is then shown ten sheep. An interesting request follows the production of the ten sheep. The uncle of the *uduli* requests four more assegaïs from the bridegroom for the father of the bride. These four head of cattle are considered nominally as a compensation for rearing the girl. The kraal must compensate the girl's former kraal for all the trouble her childhood caused them. The bridegroom's father promises to pay the cattle when the bridegroom is established in his own kraal. In reality the cattle are never claimed unless it should happen that the young wife is ill-treated by her husband. In that case the father

demands the cattle or better treatment for his daughter. His acknowledged right to claim four more head of cattle gives him some sort of a hold over the daughter's husband.

The uncle of the *uduli* makes a third request, namely that the second child of the marriage, if a son, be the property of the bride's father. This is readily agreed to, since it is understood that by "property" is meant his heir.

When all this is satisfactorily settled the *nkazanas* of the kraal (not those of the *uduli*) demand their pay from the uncle of the *uduli*. Their fee is usually three pounds. The uncle hands them two pounds and makes some excuse that he has not brought his money. After a while he asks for the two pounds back and offers them an ox, which, if sold, will repay them in full. The ox is taken and sold and the money is divided as follows :

Three pounds for the *nkazanas*.

One pound for the black sticks which the three men who drove the *lobola* cattle carried.

Ten shillings for the father of the bridegroom, called *Incimbi Zenderu* (beads of the beard).

Five shillings (Beads of the old women). *Incimbi Zexeukazi*.

One shilling for the hut they slept in (*Uloti wenhlu*).

Two shillings to allow the bride to enter the living or big hut of the "in-laws", called *ukungena kokwabo*.

Two shillings to allow the bride to eat with her mother-in-law (*Zakutya nonina*).

During the course of the ceremony the *unozakuzaku* leaves every night unobserved to report at the bride's kraal.

After the various payments are completed more beer is brewed and consumed, called *ivanya*. At the drinking of the *ivanya* beer a goat or sheep is killed, called *Icala yomyeni* (The side of the bridegroom). This meat is eaten the usual way by all present; at least there is no special rite attached to this feast. After the *Icala yomyeni* another sheep or goat is killed, called *Ukutyisa amasi*. This killing removes the milk taboo and thereafter the bride is allowed to drink milk at the "in-law's" kraal. During this rite the bride is served and fed with *Isipika* and mouthfuls of milk. This also increases her sexual desire and hastens conception. From the moment of eating the *Isipika* and drinking the milk the bride comes under the taboo of *hlonipa*, and is not allowed to speak the name of the father-in-law.

At the same time she is required to learn new names for household articles and is debarred from using the same names as the others of the kraal. Here again is a process of weaning her of names associated with the home of her birth and attachment to her family. For this same reason she is not allowed to visit her parents for a time after her marriage unless she does so secretly. If seen, she is caught and brought back to her husband's kraal.

Early in the morning of the day on which the *uduli* is to take its departure they first collect bundles of fire-wood which are placed outside the bride's hut. This is to ease her burden at the start of married life, for in future the gathering of fire-wood will be one of her tasks, since the newcomer to the kraal does the most menial work to teach her discipline as well as the need for hiding her pride. She must first be humble before she can become honoured as a mother of children.

Before the *uduli* leave, the *indindala* arranges the people, young men and girls first and then men and women. They file past the uncle of the *uduli* and make gifts of money to him. The sums range from two shillings and sixpence to seven shillings and sixpence. The bridegroom is amongst those who make these payments of money. When the line has passed the *uduli* uncle thanks the *indindala* and hands him ten shillings. The rest of the money is taken to the bride's father. The *unozakuzaku* claims his present, which is usually a sheep or goat, as payment for the entertainment he has provided.

The *uduli* bids the bride good-bye and the uncle presents her with five shillings for "pocket money". The mother-in-law is also given five shillings. This is for soap for the bride. Hereafter the *uduli* takes all the articles brought by the bride as part of her trousseau to the big hut of the "in-laws". The ten sheep, known as the "fawn hornless cow", are in the cattle-kraal and the *uduli* may not drive them out unless another payment is made. The uncle of the *uduli* pays two shillings and sixpence for the *amaqina* or "legs" to be driven out of the kraal.

The uncle and *unozakuzaku* go on ahead, driving the sheep, while the rest of the party follows on. The bride and another woman accompany them a little way on to show that the *uduli* carries their good wishes.

The "Uduli" Home-coming.

As they approach the home kraal the wives come out to meet them, again crossing in front of the sheep and sweeping the way clear

with their blankets saying, “*Kiki kiki zangena inkomo zentombazana*” (The cattle of the girl are coming in). The bride’s father thanks the *uduli* uncle in glowing terms and in the characteristic native manner of using metaphors. He includes the rest of the party in his expressions of appreciation but informs them that there is still work for them to do at the kraal of his son-in-law.

The following day an ox is killed and beer is served, while they dance in between eating and feasting. This ceremony is called *Tyisa amasi* (drink milk). The senior *nkazana* received the hide of an ox at the son-in-law’s kraal and the junior *nkazana* now receives the hide of the *Tyisa amasi* ox. The *uduli* uncle presents each *nkazana* with new dress material. The girls from other kraals who formed part of the *uduli* receive two shillings and sixpence each.

The *lobola* cattle are hereafter apportioned. If it is the eldest daughter who was married, all the cattle belong to the girl’s grandfather. He gives one to each son, starting from the second eldest, but he does not exceed three. Should there be more sons the rest will have to wait until another daughter of the kraal is married for their share of the *lobola*. If the first child was a daughter and died before marriage, the grandfather claims one cow as his share from the *lobola* paid for the second daughter.

The *unozakuzaku* drives two heifers to the son-in-law’s kraal. These are for the bride from her father and are called *Inkomo lobulunga*. From the tail hairs of these animals the *ubulunga* will be made if required.

The New Kraal.

After the birth of the first child and if economic conditions are favourable, the young couple may decide to set up their own kraal. The husband or new head builds the wall of the living-hut and then notifies the *uduli* to complete the building. The *uduli* build the roof at their own expense. After the completion of the hut a sheep is killed for the *uduli* called *Inkobe* (whole mealies). They next ask for a present from the *uduli*, but the uncle at first refuses, saying that he came to build a hut, not to distribute presents. After some further bantering and leg-pulling he produces a bottle of brandy. They also build a sheep-kraal and a cattle-kraal.

An ox is killed called *Umchata wenhlu* (the completion of the house). At this sacrifice the *Isipika* and right shoulder meat is eaten by the young wife. After this killing the *uduli* is called to the cattle-

kraal. The senior *nkazana* is allowed to enter the kraal if she is not menstruating. They stand round the carcass of the ox while the *uduli* uncle addresses them.

“To-day I have completed my work. I have built your hut. May the wife have many children and always be healthy. I have hereby fulfilled the last demands of the marriage customs of the Tembu.”

The father of the young married man calls out “*Camagu mfo wasemzini*” (Blessings for this stranger from another kraal). The *uduli* uncle produces two more bottles of brandy and is given two bottles in return by the new head. After drinking and feasting they enquire the way home, but on doing so they remind the new head of the kraal about the four head of cattle still owing. This is just to make him aware that they are watching his treatment of the young wife.

The sacrifice and eating of *Isipika* is again an instance of calling the attention of the ancestors to the beginning of a new home and the rearing of a family, so that they may bless and protect this new home and its members.

The Development of the New Kraal.

The hut built by the *uduli* is the large living-hut facing the cattle-kraal. The grandfather hereafter builds the second hut known as *Ikisshi* (store hut). Since the head of the new kraal has offspring, his father is now spoken of as grandfather. Before the sheep or cattle can enter the new kraals a sacrifice must be made for each kraal. They usually start by driving the sheep and goats, belonging to the new head and his father and uncles, into the sheep-kraal. When doing so they kill a sheep by sacrificing it with *camagu* ritual. This sacrifice is called *Singenisa lemphahla ku lomzimtsha* (We are driving these animals into the new kraal). The right side is eaten by the new head and his family while the head of the animal and the left side are taken to the grandfather's kraal. After this a sacrifice is performed to allow the cattle to enter the new kraal, and this is called *Singenisa inkomo ku lomzimtsha* (We are driving the cattle into the new kraal). Of this killing only a hind-leg is taken to the grandfather's kraal. All the sheep, goats and cattle loaned by relatives to augment the herd of the new head, in this sacrifice and celebration of driving the animals into the new kraals, are hereafter driven back to the kraals of their legitimate owners.

The large numbers of animals which take part in this ceremony

are symbolic of a wish or hope that the new kraal may one day have such large herds. It almost appears to serve as a suggestion to the *Izinyanya* that blessings in abundance are required so that the kraals may be filled with cattle and sheep. What is of interest is that the optimistic anticipations are enacted by the use of loaned herds, as if the new head's wishes and hopes are already fulfilled. The cattle, sheep and goats play just as important a rôle in these sacrifices as the people.

The symbolism portrayed by driving a large herd of cattle into the kraal is borne out by the address of the *uduli* uncle when he said "May she have many children". This was said in the cattle-kraal, so that the cattle-kraal further illustrates the symbolic connotation of propagation and fertility. Since we know that cattle in this ceremony stand for a phallic symbol, the driving of a large herd into the kraal means not only a prayer for a large herd but a prayer asking that many children may be born to the new kraal. Reference has been made to the custom of inspecting the impressions in the cattle-kraal where the *lobola* cattle slept the first night for evidence of a *Mamlambo* at the bridegroom's kraal. The *Mamlambo*, which is associated with the husband's phallus, also becomes associated with *lobola* cattle, and when cattle show evidence of the association, this significance is regarded as being bad for the bride, for it implies ill-health and sterility. Since a man usually prefers the *Mamlambo* to a woman, the *lobola* cattle further illustrate the symbolic portrayal as a phallic symbol. The association is mentioned to strengthen the conception that the cattle and the phallic symbol are one in the marriage ceremony.

The next stage in the development of the new kraal is the building of a third hut, called *isigebe*. This hut is used as sleeping quarters for men during the *idini* feast. Apart from the unclean periods of menstruation and when a child is at the breast, the natives observe a period of abstinence from sexual intercourse once a year for a period of approximately sixty days. At such times the owner of the kraal sleeps in the *isigebe* hut. The *isigebe* is reserved for visits of male relatives and friends and especially for the chief, should the kraal be honoured by such a visit. No woman is allowed to sleep in this hut.

The occasion of the completion of the *isigebe* is marked by the brewing of beer. That night the owner of the kraal and the elders of his relations sleep in the hut. A goat or sheep is killed for the

occasion. After the lapse of about two weeks, more beer is brewed and a small *idini* feast is held. This is to introduce the ancestors or *Izinyanya* to the completed kraal. The *isiqebe* hut is first decorated with branches of the *olinhout* tree or *umquma*. Late in the afternoon the branches are taken out and placed in the cattle-kraal. All the animals slaughtered during these sacrifices are selected some time previously, since it has been agreed which one should be killed.

At this small *idini* feast, the grandfather selects a goat from the sheep-kraal and a white spotless animal is the choice. He stabs the goat in the belly and as it bleats they all shout, "*Camagu nantsoke inkomo ! Yenu makube kuhle kulomsi wenu !*" (There is your ox. May all be well with your kraal). It will be observed that the goat is called an ox in this ceremony. Immediately the animal is skinned the *Isipika* is divided amongst the relatives of that kraal. The first piece is eaten by the grandfather and so on from the second eldest to the most junior each receives a piece of *Isipika* meat. The rest of the meat is served only to the oldest members of the kraal. The Communion principle in pagan culture is observed in the eating of this *Isipika* meat. For this purpose two buckets of beer are served, one for the men and the other for the women. The bucket is handed round like the Communion goblet and each takes a sip with his *Isipika*.

The men, who have assembled at the cattle-kraal, are addressed by the grandfather as follows :

"Do you people know what I have done here. Well, this is what I have done. I have gathered the spirits of our ancestors to this kraal."

Those assembled then exclaim :

"We thank you, son of so-and-so, and may this *camagu* be a success and may blessings rain upon this kraal of yours."

All the meat is put away for the night in the *isiqebe* hut on the *umquma* branches. The branches have had to be taken from the hut to the cattle-kraal for a while before the meat could be placed on them. This implies that the branches had to acquire something from the presence of the ancestors at the *camagu*, at least to be included in the blessing, before the meat could be placed on them. This influence is carried into the hut by the meat and the branches, and so the hut in turn becomes consecrated as a suitable place for the gathering of the holy ancestors. A definite set of conditions must first be created before the ancestors can happily congregate.

The visiting relatives are informed by the grandfather that the work at the new kraal will continue on the following day. All the elders assembled at the kraal sleep in the *isigebe* hut that night with the meat of the sacrificed animal in their midst. On this night the ancestors will communicate with them by means of dreams. Early the next morning those who slept in the hut relate their dreams to the grandfather.

Equally early in the morning the wives have to fetch water from the river, dressed in cow-skin skirts and wearing black veils over their heads. On leaving for the river the grandmother instructs the wives that to-day nothing but happiness and love for each other must reign in their hearts. There must be no arguments and no quarrelling, since they all know what is being done to-day, and unless there is complete harmony they cannot expect the presence or the blessings of the departed ancestors. The grandfather gives a similar instruction to the men. On the return of the wives they all congregate in the large living-hut. Beer is again served; one bucket for the men and one for the women. All relatives of the kraal drink first. With this, the grandfather shuts the *isigebe* hut until the meat is taken out. The right side, or men's portion, is cooked at the cattle-kraal and the left side, carried on the *umquma* branches, is cooked by the wives in the living-hut. During the afternoon the meat is eaten. All those who ate *Isipika* on the previous day sit in the same places. Two buckets of beer are served, and each takes a sip, starting from the grandfather to the youngest member of the kraal.

After the passing of the buckets the women adjourn to their huts while the men remain at the cattle-kraal, for at this juncture the sacrificed meat is served. The grandfather superintends the men's meal and the grandmother does likewise for the wives. Again each location represented receives a piece of meat. All the bones are gathered up and placed in the *isigebe* hut and more beer is served all round. The grandfather rises and addresses the gathering as follows:

"Listen men! You know what has been done here. We want absolute silence and peace and goodwill towards each other. There must not be any quarrels or noisy disturbances. Should anyone feel intoxicated, he must leave this kraal and go away into the veld."

Immediately the grandfather sits down, the grandmother repeats the same instructions to the wives in the hut. For a while not a word is spoken. Deep silence reigns. Then the grandfather rises again

and says, "I ask for a *ntlombe* in the house (a dance)." Again the grandmother makes a similar request to the wives.

The grandfather, grandmother, the brothers of the grandfather and their wives, open the dance. After dancing for a while the other elders join in. The grandfather again calls for silence. He names the first dance, *Umlahlo*, which is an appeal for the ancestral spirits to congregate, and proceeds as follows :

"I thank you people for honouring me in my old age the way you have done. May you continue to do so even when I am no longer among you. It is not a pleasure to work without the company of one's friends and relatives and it is therefore a joy to me to have you all here. You may now all join in the dance."

After the dancing has been going on for some time, the grandfather again rises and calls for silence. He says :

"I am indeed glad for what has been done at this kraal. May you never forget it and may this be a holy *camagu*. You may now dance again."

Although the visitors leave with the usual custom of asking for the way home, the relatives continue to dance until late at night. They sleep that night as on the previous night ; the elders in the *isiqebe* hut and the wives in the big hut.

The next morning the water is fetched by the wives dressed as before. The men recount their dreams to the grandfather and all will say, "No, nothing has happened," for if there was anything amiss in the sacrifice, the ancestral spirits would have told them in their dreams. The grandfather replies, "*Camagu*, my people ! May it always be thus ! We have heard nothing !" The bones and branches are burned in the cattle-kraal and the ashes are scattered in the kraal. No bone of a sacrificed animal may be left lying about the kraal. The borrowed utensils used in the beer making cannot be removed to the kraals unless another special beer drink is first held. This is called *Hlamba izitya* (Wash dishes).

A month or so later the people who took part in the first ceremony are called together again. The women gather wood on their way to the new kraal and each arrives with a bundle of fire-wood. On arrival they are given corn and mealies to grind but are not informed as to the purpose. The men sleep in the *isiqebe* hut as before and each one understands that he has to supply a barrel of beer. For the brewing of the beer the women dress in skin skirts.

About this time an ox is killed and the same ceremony is carried out in regard to the *Isipika* as in the first sacrifice or small *idini*. The *umquma* branches are gathered at times from far-away kloofs and mountains. The cattle are driven to the kraal and as they enter the cattle-kraal a big *intlombi* (dance) is held near the cattle-kraal. The women and men clap hands and sing, "The *Camagu* must be clear so that the *Izinyanya* can come to the kraal without trouble." The branches have been placed in the cattle-kraal and all that remains is the killing of the ox for the feast of *idini*. At the conclusion of this feast the grandfather declares to the people that the new kraal is completed and he claims the kraal as his.

After the passage of a few months the head of the new kraal gathers around him men of his own age (they may number anything from twenty to eighty) for a visit to his father-in-law's kraal. Before the expedition sets out the mother-in-law is notified of the intended visit. The eldest of those assembled is chosen as the *indindala* and the party comes under his leadership. On arrival at the father-in-law's kraal they take up their position at the cattle-kraal. They are then asked, "Where are you going and where do you come from?" The *indindala* replies, "We are from home and are coming to visit mother." After the mother-in-law has been informed they are invited to the living-hut, since their hut is still being prepared; in fact their hut has been prepared several days previously, but these ritualistic overtures are necessary according to custom. They are received by the mother-in-law and three other old wives and four male elders. The *indindala*, on entering, puts down a bottle of brandy. The son-in-law does the same and each of the others leaves money, from five shillings to a sixpence. A general conversation is carried on about crops, the families and cattle.

After the visitors have been shown to their hut, the father of the kraal counts the money and gives a few shillings to the mother. The money is really meant for the father. He further gives a shilling to each of his brothers and a shilling to each of his wives. While the visitors are in their hut an *umfana* arrives with a bucket of beer saying, "You may sleep here to-night and drink this water, but I must inform you there is nothing to eat as we are starving at this kraal." The visitors refresh themselves with the beer.

In the meantime the boys are bringing the herd of cattle to the kraal and as the herd is approaching the father of the kraal invites the *indindala* and other senior members of the visiting party to view the

cattle entering the cattle-kraal. This is done as an honour to the visitors. The father of the kraal then picks out an ox from the herd and informs the visitors that this ox will be sacrificed to provide food for them. The son-in-law eats the *Isipika* and the right side of the ox is prepared for him and his party while the left side is eaten by the people of the kraal.

Word soon spreads to the neighbouring kraals that girls are required for a big dance in honour of the visitors, and within a short time groups of girls appear, for no one will refuse a dance, especially one where meat is served in abundance. They dance until dawn the next morning. After the dance the *indindala* voices the appreciation of his party for the dance and reception. These jollifications continue until all the beer and meat are consumed, after which the visitors ask for the way home. The girls precede them for quite a distance from the kraal, singing and dancing all the time.

UKUTWALA (KIDNAPPING BY CONSENT OF THE PARENTS)

In this form of marriage all arrangements are made as in the ceremony of *ukwenda*, except that the girl is kidnapped before the cattle-kraal ceremony is performed at her own kraal; at least before the appointment of the *uduli* party. As a rule the day is appointed for the kidnapping and the girl is sent by her parents on some mission or other. The kidnappers or *amagloti*, who have been lying in wait for her, pounce upon her and carry her off screaming, kicking and struggling madly. Even if she knows the groom and fancies him, it is customary that she resists to her utmost: but more frequently she only realizes her predicament once she is in the hands of the kidnappers. The ceremonies of *ukutwala* are indeed important from a jurisprudence point of view. The descriptions given here comply with the accepted customs of the Tembu people.

When the kidnappers arrive home with their prey, she is placed behind the door of a hut and veiled. Instead of female attendants she is guarded by men who accompany her on all her necessary excursions. Soon after her arrival at the future husband's kraal a goat is sacrificed in the usual *camagu* manner and the *Isipika* is fed to the captive bride; but she refuses as a rule to eat the *Isipika* and has to be forcibly-fed with great difficulty. In fact these kidnapped brides are known to go on hunger strike before the arrival of their own people.

A day or two after the kidnapping, a search party is sent from the girl's kraal under the direction of her uncle. They pretend to be searching for a kidnapped girl and make enquiries whether such a girl has been seen in the neighbourhood. The bridegroom's uncle acts as the spokesman for his kraal and replies that no one answering the description given is at their kraal, but that on the previous day they saw a party with a struggling girl pass the kraal. He even goes into such detail as to point out the direction they went. They spend some time in misleading each other until the bridegroom's uncle admits that they harbour the kidnapped girl. This is considered very amusing and they all laugh. The *lobola* fee has already been settled prior to the actual kidnapping, but an extra cow must be paid for the audacity to kidnap the girl, even after they have all agreed that the marriage should be an *Ukutwala*. In bargaining for this cow they indulge in the old game of beggars and tramps. The bridegroom requests clothes for his bride, promising to pay her father for this later.

When all these arrangements are amicably settled, the bride's uncle is given permission to see her. At this interview he makes it plain to the girl that she has been kidnapped with the consent of her elders and that any further resistance will be futile since it is their wish that she should marry into this particular kraal. After the interview with the girl, the uncle informs the elders that the girl must be looked after by the *umyeni* (bridegroom). This implies that the marriage must be consummated that night. It is on such occasions that the others assist in the taming of the bride. Instead of young men and girls sleeping in the nuptial hut, the guards (men only) sleep in the hut with the bridal couple, and it is their duty to pay particular attention to her reaction during the night.

Some time after the consummation of the marriage, maybe weeks or months, the girl is borrowed by her father's kraal to undergo the cattle-kraal ceremony, when she eats *Isipika* and receives her warnings. After this ceremony at her own kraal she is returned to her husband's kraal with her trousseau and accompanied by a *nkazana* and another girl. There is no exchange of gifts of money in the ceremony of *ukutwala*.

As soon as the bride is back at her new home a goat is sacrificed ; she eats the *Isipika* and drinks mouthfuls of milk while doing so. This, as has been explained, is to increase her sexual appetite and promote fertility. Although this marriage has been consummated,

it is not considered a proper marriage until such time as the husband requests his father-in-law for an *uduli*. After the *uduli* ceremony, the wife is said to have *chataed* and is now married in all respects.

KIDNAPPING WITHOUT CONSENT

This ceremony frequently gives rise to charges of abduction or rape. According to custom, no sexual intercourse is allowed in this form of marriage while the consent of the parents or elders has not yet been obtained. This is of great importance since a charge of rape may be laid against the kidnapper should he refuse to pay the abduction or kidnapping fines. According to custom the charge of seduction, that is forcing the girl to surrender her chastity, cannot be laid against the kidnappers. This of course does not imply that it does not occur, but as a rule the girl's chastity is respected until consent is granted. Nevertheless charges of rape frequently arise as result of kidnapping without consent. Under these circumstances it is doubtful whether such charges are genuine, since they largely follow default in the payment of compensation.

Again, the native takes pains to fulfil the ritualistic demands of his customs, and it seems improbable that he will flout them in this instance, because if the parents are averse to the marriage, the kidnapper is not only fined the usual ten sheep but he will also have to pay from two to three head of cattle for defloration. If she becomes pregnant it may cost him an extra five or six head of cattle. Therefore it is unlikely that a man wanting a wife will expose himself to all this expense merely for the sake of seducing her. Besides, the girl is brought to his father's kraal and they will see to it that custom's regulations are not violated, since they will have to pay the *lobola*.

The elders having decided on a wife for the son, a few friends of the bridegroom watch her movements for days, and when the opportunity arrives they kidnap her and remove her to the bridegroom's kraal. On arrival she is placed under a guard and the bridegroom is not allowed near her, in the same manner as if she had been kidnapped with the father's consent. Her people soon ascertain where she has been taken because the kidnapped girl is usually so loud in her protestations that someone is always sure to have observed the affair.

If her people object to a marriage alliance with that particular kraal they simply stand in the doorway of the hut and command the

girl to come out. The kidnappers offer no resistance, although they may plead for consent, for they naturally resent the prospect of paying ten sheep as compensation. If the girl's people are adamant there is nothing else to be done but pay the compensation demanded. It is not unlikely that some may refuse to pay compensation, offering the *lobola* instead, and in consequence the girl's people may lay a charge of seduction. Should the girl's people favour the family of the kidnappers, the uncle and his companions take their seats at the cattle-kraal on arriving at the suspected kraal. The bridegroom's uncle or an elder approaches them to ascertain who they are, where they came from and where they are going. Again they play at the old game of pretence until it is admitted that the girl is in the kraal. The girl's uncle pretends to be very angry but says, "Go on!" which means "Discuss *lobola*". He demands an extra assegai for the audacity of kidnapping a daughter of his kraal without the consent of the elders. After these preliminary arrangements are completed the girl's uncle asks whether an *uduli* is desired. The rest of the marriage ceremony proceeds as in kidnapping with consent. The usual *lobola* fee, in this form of marriage, is twelve head of cattle.

IBOXO (A PARTY FOR ASSISTANCE)

After child-birth or other illnesses in the home, when the mother finds it difficult to leave her children to gather fire-wood, she gives an *Iboxo* party. Fire-wood to the native is one of the essentials in life. The fire is made in the centre of the hut and the members of the family occupying the hut sleep around the glowing or smouldering embers. What will be considered as suffocating smoke by the white man, never disturbs the native. There is, as a rule, a small opening in the thatched roof of the hut for the escape of the smoke, which somehow rises and finds its way through the thatched roof. Hence as long as one keeps low down, sits or lies, the smoke is not troublesome.

The fire in the hut compensates for the scanty blankets used for covering during the bitterly cold winter nights in the Transkei, for although the natives in the kraals may go about with next to nothing on in the warm summer days, they are very sensitive to cold during the winter and are always seeking the sun. The demand for fire-wood has almost denuded some parts of the Transkei. Dry cattle dung is used for fuel but falls far short of a glowing log fire.

Since the gathering of the fire-wood is the women's task, where there is only one wife at a kraal it becomes an arduous task to gather fire-wood from the distant scantily-wooded hills while her babies are at home. The wife, under such circumstances, gives an *Iboxo* party. She invites her friends of the surrounding kraals to come to her kraal for such a party. She herself brews beer and her husband kills a goat or a sheep. Each woman or girl visitor arrives with a huge bundle of fire-wood. When all the guests have arrived, there is sufficient fire-wood to last her through the winter.

The husbands and *abafana* learn of this *Iboxo* party from their wives or mothers, and so that evening the kraal is crowded with visitors, each bringing something. The wife thanks them for their kindness and presents meat and beer. They eat meat, drink beer and dance all through the night. A *nkazana* is appointed to assist the *indindala*. The latter is the one appointed for that family and the one who supervised the proceedings when the wife of the kraal went through her *Intonjane*. Each person is provided with a partner as usual where the *indindala* officiates. The *abafana* give their girls presents of beads or money and disappear from time to time. Of course all these occasions are recognized *metsha* parties, especially for the *abafana*.

The men have a similar party for assistance called *Ilima*, and this is always given during the ploughing, hoeing or harvesting season. By such means do they overcome their economic difficulties. A number of men come together, and in one day they plough all the required lands. This principle of mutual assistance is marked amongst the natives living in kraals and following tribal traditions. They are always sharing, and one must indeed be a bad character before a native will refuse to share his last morsel with one.

It has frequently happened that a native's cattle are written up for debt. Under such circumstances, others come together and each will give an ox, a goat or a few sheep, and in the end will liquidate their friend's debt. The whole cultural setting of the native is stamped with this altruistic trait, especially towards those he classes as his friends and members of his race. This racial characteristic of sharing and mutual assistance, although a commendable trait in the native, facilitates his comprehension of communistic ideals, and due to the recognized fact that projection is the natural way of his reasoning, the government, as an example of capitalistic administration, receives a ready supply of blame during periods of economic stress and makes

the native prone to the influence of agitators. The best antidote against agitation of this nature appears to be not only education but education within the frame-work of racial and tribal traditions. By this is meant education which will not sever those family and home ties so essential in the character-building of the pagan. It is essentially the family life of the pagan which gives him his stability and reliability in contrast to the detribalised native. This view is supported by elders, headmen and chiefs.

The second important characteristic is the rôle that gifts play in native culture. To the superficial observer the native must appear extravagant for people in poor circumstances, when the multitudes of gifts presented at marriages and other ceremonies are considered. A little study of this subject, however, will show that it is all a matter of exchange. *Lobola* is paid and *lobola* is received. Money is given and money is given back. It is frequently asked, "How can a native afford to pay twelve head of cattle or more for a wife?" but it is not grasped that he may only pay two or three of the total at one time. The rest is made up by relatives and friends and he, in turn, does the same when any of their sons get married. A present, to the native, evokes a far deeper sense of appreciation than it does in the case of the European because his standard of living and his sense of values are different.

Apart from this, on account of the rôle gifts play in his customs and traditional practices, his psychology has a special symbolic meaning for gifts. It does not merely mean giving or receiving an object, whatever its value or use may be, but it means an interest in the recipient, sympathy for him and sincerity in one's attitude towards him; in fact, it implies affection and friendship. To the native's way of thinking generosity of this nature and injustice cannot go together. Hence when he exclaims "*Imazi enetole!*" (The cow and its calf), one knows he has sealed a bond of friendship. On this basis it will be understood that the rôle gifts play in native custom is but a manifestation of homogeneity and affection for each other. Gifts serve to maintain the associations of the various families as one big family.

During my investigations this appreciative aspect of the native's psychology was apparent everywhere. A gift in recognition of services rendered was received with *Imazi enetole* and one knows this to be a sincere expression of his friendship. The thought comes to mind: would it not be better for the Government, when giving

relief in distress areas, to give the mealies, corn, etc. through the medium of officials in a personal or direct manner rather than by means of an impersonal administrative machinery? The native, thinking in forms of concreteness, likes to establish some contact with the person directly responsible for the gift. The idea of a government is too vague for his satisfaction. Employers of native labour and those Europeans who have lived many years in native territories maintain that it is their experience that the native will do nothing for nothing. Doing a favour without some sort of compensation is something the native cannot understand. A vague idea of the necessity of reciprocity permeates all his actions and thinking. His system of communal help and his exchange of gifts in the ceremonies have conditioned him always to expect something in return. Hence his great astonishment and appreciation with *Imazi enetole*, at being paid for information that did not require any physical labour. He has not yet learned to place any value on his knowledge. To say he has not yet learned, is perhaps going a little too far. My personal experience has shown that once the native has been remunerated for his information, he has expected payment on all subsequent occasions on which he has contributed nothing. In fact, he considers that merely squatting down in a gathering without once opening his mouth entitles him to payment for his presence there. Some of them have even protested against my discrimination in the distribution of gifts. What appears to be altruistic in his culture is based on different concepts from ours.

Certain forms of altruism conform to carrying out the dictates of tradition and custom. Other forms definitely expect compensation, since no action is complete without reciprocity. This is borne out by the psychology of sympathetic magic. For instance, the *isutu* cannot brew beer for his *abakweta* without first obtaining the permission of the chief or headman. Once the beer is brewed, the chief is entitled to a barrel of beer, but where the chief does not drink a small gift of money is made, from a shilling to two shillings. Chief Velelo tells me this money must be paid because the chief is entitled to some compensation by custom for the beer he should have. Again it has happened that the *incibi* in a moment of generosity in the *Abakweta* ceremony has offered a young man the *lobola* for a wife; but the *incibi* in reality only loans him the *lobola* cattle.

Another interesting feature of native psychology in regard to payment for services rendered is the readiness with which he views

any departure from the routine, in his favour, as a precedent. Personal tests with many natives in this respect have produced ample evidence of this trait to take things for granted. For example, if a native is entitled to a fixed scale of pay and one should on several successive occasions pay him a little more without mentioning that this extra pay is a present, he demands this extra pay as soon as one reverts to the fixed scale of pay, because he considers whatever he was given was given him for services rendered, therefore should he render the same services on subsequent occasions and receive less money, he is being defrauded. Especially is this applicable in his relation to the white man whom to a certain extent he still considers as a Fairy Godmother.

The third factor of importance is kaffir beer. The customs enumerated in detail in this book will show what a fundamental and all-important rôle kaffir beer plays in native culture. It is as powerful a factor in his traditions as our most treasured traditions are to us. In fact, once one grasps the hidden motives of his conduct it becomes clear that to take away his beer is equal in sentiment and value to taking away the Holy Communion from our Churches. It forms a vital part of his existence where he still observes his traditions and customs. In fact the native living in town locations may give the impression of having completely adopted European civilization, but a little probing will show that in the majority of cases this is only a veneer. Some basic traditional forms of thinking, feeling and acting are still retained. For instance, a native with a fair amount of education, a total abstainer and a respected man in the location, explained with feelings of bitter disappointment that he twice begged the Municipality to allow him a special permit to brew a few gallons of beer required for the *Abakweta* ceremony of his son, and he was refused. He added that he is now certain that his son will never live to grow up, for on such an occasion beer does not serve merely as a drink but as something of far greater significance. Now this man is an adherent of the Christian Church and still to him the requirements of custom must be fulfilled in order to bring about the blessings of the *Izinyanya*. One can well imagine what his private views must be about the white man's administration and laws.

The official prohibition ordained by Municipal by-laws of beer in town native locations has brought into being vice and illicit kaffir beer traffic analogous to the gigantic experiment tried by the American nation under the Volstead Act, though in every way on a much

smaller scale. If we want to act as our brother's keeper we must first know something of his needs. Prohibition and condemnation are never effective means of solving social problems. The authorities single out kaffir beer from the mass of social problems presented by town location natives as the prime evil, and, by trying to remove this evil through prohibition without attention to the other factors which make this an evil, they produce greater and more devastating evils. A constructive approach to this problem should, in the first place, be directed to the antecedents of this illicit beer evil. These antecedents comprise unemployment, defective administration and over-population of locations by allowing the wrong people to live in the locations and by the absence of organizing natives to maintain and share in keeping order in their own community. The traditional patriarchal laws of the native make him more susceptible and responsive to discipline under a council of elders as a subsidiary machinery to a location superintendent. The native must be taught through constructive guidance to bear the responsibility of his own communal needs in close proximity to the white man's.

A study of the various ceremonies in native customs so far outlined indicates the important rôle beer plays in their culture. The prohibition of beer leaves a gap in their social requirements and readily turns the native to seek other forbidden liquors definitely harmful to him. It is not at all difficult for the native in urban areas to obtain brandy and cheap fortified wines, for the simple reason that the coloured person has access to bottle stores and bars. The coloured man buys the liquor and retails it at a profit to the native, at times even selling the native a bottle of tea for wine. As a rule the native will not spend money on wines and brandies however palatable they may be if he is allowed to brew his own beer, because the beer, apart from being his traditional drink, is ever so much cheaper. One finds that prohibition exists only on paper. Illicit brewing and trafficking in this commodity is bound to be rampant, as is shown by the hundreds of convictions for illegal consumption and possession of kaffir beer.

Fights at urban location beer-drinks leading to serious assaults are not uncommon, and the superficial observer may use this as a weapon in favour of prohibition, but a little investigation will bring to light that illicit beer and legally domestic brewed beer are two different commodities. In the ordinary course of events one requires a very large quantity of kaffir beer before mild intoxication sets in ; in fact one feels uncomfortable long before its intoxicating influences are

felt. At ceremonies in the native territories they consume gallons of the stuff. I have seldom observed annoying intoxication ; even where some inco-ordination in movement and speech has been observed the native has been amusing and amiable but not pugnacious and obstreperous. Naturally it depends on provocation and the host of stimuli necessary to precipitate such a reaction, but the beer does not seem to produce such profound dulling of consciousness or dissociation of higher psychic control centres as do brandy and wine. In the urban areas the drinking must necessarily depend on quality more than quantity. The illicit trafficker does not want to have large quantities of beer on his premises, so he fortifies the brew by addition of tobacco juice, methylated spirits, treacle, etc. Such a concoction provides a "kick" with a small quantity of beer and produces a rapid elation with liberation of instinctive impulses. Before long the native is involved in a brawl, or, maybe due to his dulling and confusion of mind, is careless, and finds the next morning that his rent money has been stolen. These statements are based on the confidential experiences of many urban natives. The many factors leading to crime as result of these demoralizing influences can well be imagined.

It will be appreciated that the prohibition of native beer for domestic consumption is detrimental to the social life of the native. In view of his traditional and cultural conditioning to his national beverage it seems unjust to prevent him from enjoying it in his home and family. Indeed, prohibition in this respect facilitates the development of criminal conduct in natives who would otherwise have been law-abiding. Out of the hundreds who are brought before the court for violating municipal regulations in illicit beer traffic and consumption, those who pay their fines do not pay their rents, and hence must augment the income by some other deed of stealth. Those who do not or cannot pay their fines are sent to prison, some for periods of six months. On release from prison they are frequently guilty of similar crimes. Repetition of these offences shows that prison is no deterrent, and how can it be when the setting and needs of the native cannot be harmonized with these misguided though well-meant regulations ?

If beer is to be considered as a pernicious liquor merely drunk by the native for its intoxicating and subsequent narcotizing effects, then its prohibition may have some justification, but a study of this subject has brought to light interesting values and benefits attributed

to kaffir beer by the native, which make its prohibition something beyond the native's comprehension. For instance, kaffir beer is drunk by the natives as a tonic after debilitating illnesses. Apart from this, it is a well-known therapeutic measure in intestinal conditions, especially colitis. In the native kraals beer is brewed for domestic consumption more as a valuable food-stuff than a refreshing beverage. In fact the brewing of beer in the kraals, apart from the recognized beer-drinks and sacrifices, is done largely for its tonic value. There appears to be little doubt that kaffir beer has some vitamine value similar to that attributed to various manufactured yeast products. It must not be understood that the native partakes of his beer in a similar manner to that in which the European partakes of intoxicating liquor. Domestic brewing is only done when the family considers there is a need for its medicinal and food value properties. The beer-drink is quite a different matter and may occur only about three or four times a year and that on festive and ceremonial occasions. During these ceremonies and sacrifices the consecrated beer becomes symbolic of the life-giving forces coming from the *Izinyanya* and *Umdali*. Hence to prohibit kaffir beer in urban areas on the supposition that it is merely an intoxicating beverage is to underestimate its value and richness of meaning to the native mind and leads to cunning devices for evading the law. Again, it makes our requirements too complex for his adjustment to urban life and he must in consequence infringe the law. As a result of this he sees only an impenetrable barrier between his culture and ours. Lack of knowledge of his customs and rich symbolism obscures our understanding of his conduct, a conduct actuated by a deep and powerful traditional background.

These municipal by-laws are the measures of a form of administration which appears to consider him as if he fully comprehends and approves of our aims. To our way of thinking our European civilization is the best and we are really in the long run doing the best for him. We forget, of course, that even if he could envisage those aims of ours, he is hardly sufficiently developed along the lines of our culture to accept them as his own, since they are so foreign to that which forms the basis of his systems of beliefs. Lack of knowledge of his customs, traditions and psychology has confused the thinking about kaffir beer with the demoralizing influences of wines and brandies. One feels that this discrimination is essential in the framing of municipal regulations concerning urban natives. Perhaps these

by-laws were based on the well-known susceptibility of the native to wines and brandies or to any strong and intoxicating liquor. This is a factor which cannot be ignored and seems to have some interesting psychological reasons, but does not apply to beer as a harmful drink.

Oral characteristics and oral factors play a marked rôle in the conduct of natives. We have observed that oral incorporation of witchcraft elements or poisons, as well as the association of witchcraft with forbidden impulses, is a constant factor in native psychology. The mouth thus becomes an important medium for satisfying physiological and psychological needs. The native is a gluttonous eater and eats for a sense of fullness and not for the satisfaction of an appetite. He craves bulk, not substance. All native children have protruberant abdomens as result of excessive eating whenever food is available, usually in the form of ground mealies or beans. For instance, when they eat meat, which is a great delicacy in the kraals and is not eaten more than twice a month at the utmost, the eating by the whole family is usually "non-stop" and without the addition of any other food until the whole carcass of the goat or sheep is consumed. In fact the family simply gorge themselves until nothing remains. It seems almost as if a compulsive element underlies this eating.

A similar character trait applies to smoking. The native male or female is an inveterate smoker. The pipe is gently tapped to allow the ash to separate. The hard caked oily tobacco at the bottom of the pipe is never removed and the stronger it is the more is it relished and enjoyed. The stem and bowl of the pipe are cleaned by pushing a thin straw-like reed up the stem; on withdrawal, this reed, soaked with thick oily tobacco juice, is rubbed round the teeth and gums while the reed itself is chewed like a cud and kept in the cheek. This is practised by men and women, young and old. The gratification obtained by eating and smoking such strong noxious tobacco products is psychological as well as physiological, and appears to be but a crude continuation of early infantile oral cravings. These oral manifestations and the magical thinking are reflections of the infantile components of this culture.

With these strong oral factors the native is prone to find a great pleasure in alcoholic stimulation, and once he tastes brandy or wine he feels almost compelled to keep on drinking until he is incapable of drinking any more. Due to the active functioning of these infantile oral traits he is indeed susceptible to the vices resulting from the use of intoxicating liquors. The right to brew kaffir beer for domestic

consumption will serve not only as a protection against demoralization in this respect, but will provide the traditional requirements of his oral needs. Thereby it will bring security and happiness without furtiveness and stealth, and enhance the prestige of the European as a constructive administrator and not only a sentimental verbalist about the native and his evolution.

Urban locations should be divided up into wards and a few elderly respected natives appointed to supervise the domestic brewing under permit in each ward. These elders can serve as assistants to the Location Superintendent. It is claimed that such a plan is not feasible since the native has not learned to be unbiassed and impartial in his judgments, but unless he is given the opportunity in a small way he will never learn. One does not expect him at this stage of his cultural development to divorce himself in his deliberations from racial sentimental and emotional ties, but in the course of time he will learn to extend his loyalty to national institutions other than his racial relationships. Such a measure must be viewed as purely educational to equip the native to be able to administer his own people in urban conditions and support law and order administered by the European.

The life in the kraals is settled, and follows certain definite prescribed rules ordained by custom. Sex operates according to the demands of custom with deviations here and there, but, on the whole, pagan custom maintains its morality as effectively as in European society. We have, of course, the concubine. Her existence seems unavoidable and provision is made for her children, but on the whole it is not common for unmarried pagan girls to have illegitimate children when one considers the manifold opportunities and sexual customs conducive towards this end. The state of affairs in urban areas is exactly the reverse; even educated native girls employed as domestic servants from time to time leave the service to give birth to a child. Many of them become concubines and may have two or three children by as many different fathers. During the taking of the last census numerous instances were discovered in town locations where mothers and daughters were concubines with large numbers of illegitimate children. The native working in town usually has a wife and children in his kraal in the territories, but during his sojourn in town he lives with a concubine, by whom he may have another half-dozen. These children grow up without the influence of a stable home and family or the steadying influence of the culture of the kraals. The latter must be considered as forces of rectitude in pagan native culture.

The native society in urban areas is indeed unstable, because most of its members are in a process of transition, in having left tribal custom but having not yet adopted or identified themselves with European culture. One must not accept educational acquirements in the form of school knowledge as an effective aspect of adaptation because these lacks identification on an emotional and sentimental basis. The great pagan customs of initiation into manhood and womanhood do not exist in town locations. Many Europeans with years of experience in native administration feel that these two customs should be encouraged in native culture and not lightly discarded because the native is receiving book education. But like kaffir beer, they equally fall under municipal taboos.

Educated natives claim that the only forces of rectitude in such native communities are the teachings of Christianity, but the host of churches and denominations existing in locations, as well as the continual quarrelling and migrations from one church to the other, show instability even in this respect. Perhaps the fault lies in the complete capitulation demanded by Christianity, a proselytism which frequently precipitates confusion and conflict. One can, therefore, appreciate the effect on the native of such an unstable and transitory society. Into this society migrate natives from the kraals. Into this society are born hundreds of children from homes with defective family systems. The natives from the territories come to town to obtain employment but the economic and social conditions which they meet with force them into situations wherein they frequently obtain their livelihood by civilized vices rather than civilized virtues. The mating of couples and prolific breeding produces a location population far in excess of the demands for native labour in the town. For instance, in one urban location the death rate was five hundred per annum and the birth rate one hundred and thirty-five (officially of course). The native rarely registers the birth of a child and there are no official means employed for ascertaining when a child is born. The birth rate estimated by the census returns for this particular location must be somewhere in the region of from eight to nine hundred a year.

Naturally the employment of visiting inspectors checking up on the occupants of a house from month to month may be of value, but more effective would be the employment of native elders for this purpose, especially those appointed for supervising the domestic brewing of beer in any particular ward.

It will be readily appreciated that such a society is hardly a suitable

means of civilizing the raw native and still it is mostly in these transitory societies where he acquires his veneer of civilization and European culture. The raw native making his home in such a community finds none of the communal responsibilities and family ties of the kraals. There are no customs which will serve as forces of rectitude in his conduct. He not infrequently comes in contact with many of those living a parasitic illicit existence. He is introduced to illicit liquor, doped beer ; and soon his demoralization is complete and he no longer compares favourably with the trustworthy and dignified pagan of the kraals. He is removed from the moral conscience to which he was conditioned and finds it difficult to adapt and adjust himself to European culture in the chaotic and religiously unstable emotional life of the location. Not infrequently, as police experience shows, he begins to differ from the pagan native of the kraals in this particular respect, that pagan culture on the whole respects the white man's assets and property whereas the location native may suit himself more readily to circumstances. He has made his jump to become emancipated in such a social setting and without the assistance of constructive organized thinking about him and for him during this transition period.

The European continues unconcerned because he is lulled by the superficial veneer of the native, but observation of these steadily increasing facts indicates that the time is not far distant when the European and the respected educated native will wake up to a host of accumulated effects, disturbing the economic and cultural stability of both of them ; indeed the present trend is producing a pabulum for the growth of anti-social and maladjusted individuals.

It is erroneously believed that as the native customs disappear the native society as a whole will disintegrate and individual members will grow away from old established beliefs and traditions. It is not impossible for this to occur in the distant future, but at the moment there is no evidence of such a disintegration from a national point of view. One finds a closely knit homogeneous national sentiment which binds together all natives of the Tembu and Ama Xosa tribes. The operation of this sentiment in the native mind is no doubt responsible for the barrier between him and the white man. His superficial conduct may not give any evidence of this barrier, but experience, based on observation of his deeper emotional reactions, shows that he owes his first loyalty to his people. Hence he lacks unbiassed and impartial judgment in most situations where there is conflict between

his race and that of the white man. Those having many years' experience of criminal investigation among natives, as well as the personal statements of *igqiras*, support the general conception that the native will only divulge information incriminating a member of his people if he dislikes that person. His actions are based on personal rather than altruistic grounds.

The native's attitude in relation to the European's assets is a powerful component in crime against the European's property. The native's attitude towards the European is analogous to the latter's attitude towards his Government. The Government is invariably fair game and the citizen's honesty in making up his Income Tax returns depends on circumstances. The Government has so much and will not miss the little he withholds. Similarly is the native ignorant regarding the manner and method in which the European obtained his assets. Compared to his needs, the European seems to possess more than enough, and what would hardly be missed by the European would indeed be a great gain to him.

CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

To the native mind, civilization and Christianity are synonymous. The missionaries demand a complete capitulation in the acceptance of the Christian faith. They do not tolerate a worshipful attitude towards the *Izinyanya*. Hence the proselytism in practice demands repression of beliefs and in consequence conflict which produces two levels of belief, the superficial Christian level and the deeper pagan level. The converted native maintains that as a Christian he must not believe in the customs and beliefs of his people. More often it is said, "I do not believe in them." If it is asked whether he denies the existence of the *Izinyanya* or the evil forces of *Inyoka*, *Impundulu* and *Tikoloshe*, the reply is, "I do not deny their existence but I do not believe in them." The conscious denial is indicative of the lack of consistency in his reactions to the Christian faith. His personification of idealism as manifested in his beliefs concerning the *Izinyanya* is not adequately replaced by the Christian personification of idealism. The personification of *Umdali* is due to Christian influence as a belief in a personified creator. Many pagans interviewed on this subject fail to personify their ideas about *Umdali* and rather conceive of him as a creative force. As an attitude of worship this cannot be said to be irrational.

On the whole the civilized native is just as prone to follow various cults and creeds as is the negro inhabitant of Haarlem, New York. The South African native under consideration follows the person or leader rather than the denomination. His religious attitudes seem to indicate a restless seeking for something ; something to which he can form a deep personal attachment ; something through which he can express ostensibly his religious emotions and attain a feeling of security. But during all this he heightens tension, he becomes eruptive rather than soothing. His emphasis on authoritarian sanctity shows the need for expiation of his guilt and the unforgivable sin looms prominently in his sermons. These authoritarian concepts of religion, the many credal churches, as well as the authoritarian religious systems which claim that their adherents accept without questioning and believe without scrutiny, merely substitute one infallible hierarchy for another, and the native finds in it a pattern of another colour, but a pattern inadequately satisfying the emotions conditioned to patriarchal culture and the order of *Izinyanya*.

In the delusional content of educated natives the forces of evil are at times replaced by the evil spirits of the Scriptures, but interestingly these evil spirits of the Scriptures are claimed to be inside the body, especially the stomach and bowels, so that the old idea of symbolic incorporation is still in evidence even if that evidence be a disguised conception of the existence of evil.

Although the native is not consciously aware of the nature of the emotional outlet provided by the Christian faith, he is nevertheless utilizing it as a form of expiating his guilt. He has been trained, if not personally then by indirect impersonal cultural influences, to accept his pagan ideas about worship without question. In adopting European culture and Christianity, he tries to identify himself as literally and completely as possible with the teachings of the Scriptures and in consequence tries to exercise a very rigid moral conscience according to his literal interpretations. But the moral conscience demanded by authoritarian Christian religions is far more exacting than the *mores* of his pagan customs and he finds it difficult to maintain this idealism of conduct and avoid the many Christian sins not known in his culture. Resultingly, he makes many compromises with his ego and may adopt a superficial hypocritical religious veneer which is frequently seen in his emotionally charged sermons. On these occasions he punishes himself for his lapses by almost cherishing the unforgivableness of depravity.

Just as the psychopath or neurotic wishes to change his environment, anticipating that such a change will change his inner dissatisfactions, so the native changes his church, rationalizing and projecting his shortcomings in relation to the "ideal self" as defects in his church or some person or persons concerned with its administration. This refers to a certain type of native, especially the type who became converted from paganism somewhere round about adolescence. Many long and intimate discussions with these people have shown how little their inner needs are understood by some of those who administer to their spiritual needs. Rigid authoritarian Christian religious systems rather confuse them and lead to conflict instead of liberating their personalities from the inner distortions.

CHAPTER IX

COUSIN MARRIAGE AND GUARDIANSHIP

INTERMARRIAGE among members descended from the same kraal is so prevalent that it can almost be considered as a requirement of custom. Choosing a bride outside a family clan is an exception to the rule, no doubt determined by many circumstances other than a deliberate choice to introduce new blood. The pressure of tradition leans towards a choice of bride having some connection with the original source. Chief Velelo informs me that at one time the Tembus obtained their wives from among the Galekas, but due to some quarrel years ago these excursions for brides into Galeka^{land} ceased.

Seeing that most of my field-work was done in Tembuland, I shall confine myself to my personal observations and investigations among the Tembus.

The perpetuation of the family line or the continuation of a kraal is an essential factor according to pagan tradition, for it is decidedly contrary to custom that a kraal should die out. Should a certain house or kraal have no offspring, a male child is given to that house to rear, so that he may plant forth a family. No branch of the original family line must become extinct. For instance, where a husband dies leaving no offspring, his family will appoint a man to impregnate the widow ; this man has nothing else to do with the widow and has no further responsibility in the matter. The child of such a union is a child of the kraal and has nothing to do with the man who cohabited with his mother. If anyone dares to mention that this child is illegitimate, such a person is fined. This is an instance where patriarchal law denies the truth and supports the wish as a reality. The heir to the kraal now proceeds as if he were the offspring of the legitimate father. If the first child of such a union is a daughter, further intercourse is encouraged until a son is born.

Due to the custom of appointing guardians or godfathers and god-mothers, one finds such terms as "big mother" and "little mother", "big uncle", "little uncle" and so on. Resultingly, an orphan is

never found among these natives. Polygamy is closely bound up with this custom of appointing guardians and, in fact, makes this custom a necessary institution. The concept family or clan is based on an intermingling of blood. Let us take, for example, a patriarch with four wives. Each wife is called a house, and the children of the wives are known as the children of the first, second, third and fourth house. It is seldom that a kraal with four wives produces less than from twelve to sixteen children; at times the number ranges beyond twenty. By the time these children have reached the degree of first and second cousin relationship, they intermarry so as to perpetuate the blood of the original kraal. This custom thus produces large communities of blood relations in any particular district.

In view of the prevalence of certain forms of mental disorder and defect among the natives, I decided to study this matter of intermarriage carefully and thoroughly. Now, during this fieldwork I covered a few thousand miles by car through Fingoland and Tembuland, but most of the work was done in Tembuland in the domain of my friend, Chief Velelo. Apart from the numerous meetings with the chiefs, headmen and elders, there were the interviews with large numbers of native men and women assembled at the various ceremonial functions. I made it a particular point to ascertain the relationship between the men and their womenfolk at each gathering, especially in what way and to what degree they were related. The numbers of married partners questioned on this matter extend into a few hundred. The findings showed that about 80 per cent. of those interviewed consisted of first, second or third cousin marriages. Any marriage beyond third cousin was considered not related for this purpose. It was found that first and second cousin unions were just as common as third cousin unions.

A small number of families of the mental patients who did not visit their children or relatives were visited wherever possible in Tembuland and Fingoland. The number of family histories personally investigated in the territories amounted to eight kraals. The difficulties facing such an investigation can well be imagined, when, due to inaccessibility of the neighbourhood by car and the absence of roads, as many as twelve miles a day were covered on foot, over boulder-strewn hills and deep dongas. On such occasions I appreciated a diet of green mealies roasted on the cobs and a refreshing drink of kaffir beer.

The members of the hospital nursing staff and I obtained

information about family histories from those relatives and parents visiting the patients. Since these visits from the territories were not frequent, the number investigated by the staff and myself totalled thirty-two families. The smallness of the total is due to the short period of time over which these investigations were made at the hospital, as well as the rare occasions on which parents or near relatives accompany a patient on admission. Nevertheless, out of the forty family histories investigated by the staff and myself only four families were negative as to first, second or third cousin marriages and each family had evidence of *ukutwasa* and *ukupambana* (loss of senses) in grandfather or grandmother, uncles, aunts, mothers or fathers; even those four families not related before marriage had tainted family histories. Another interesting feature was the finding of several witch-doctors in such a tainted family. In fact the witch-doctors were always those who had suffered from *ukutwasa* or *ukupambana*.

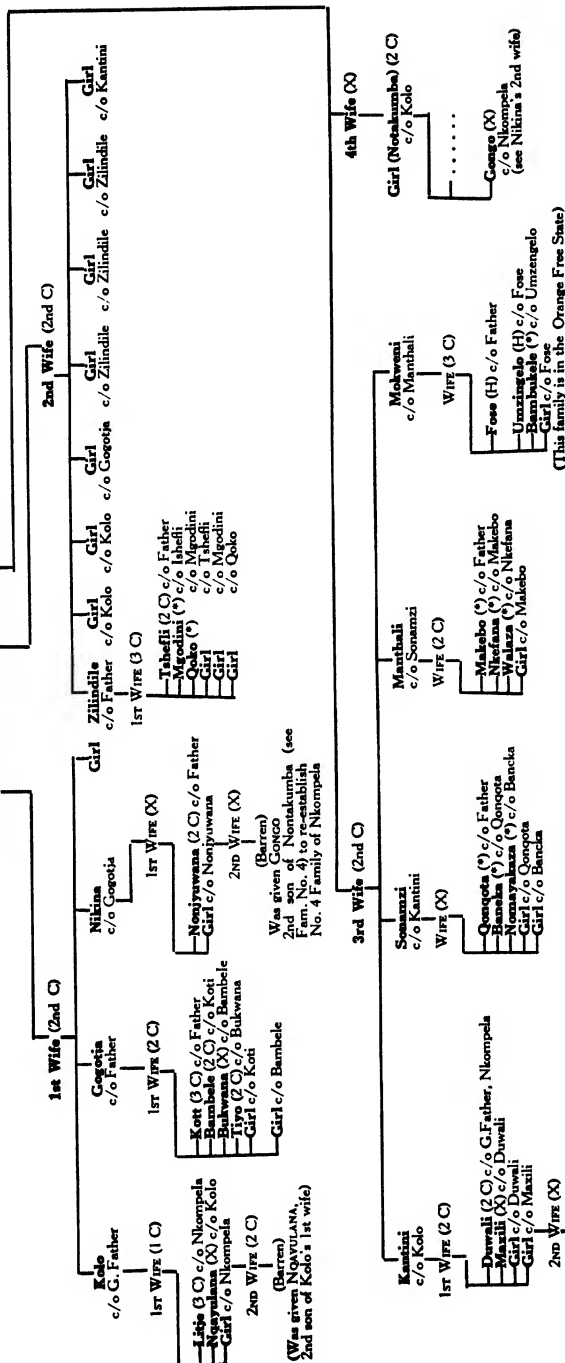
There are quite a number of patients who came from the same family, but having different names and surnames, these relationships were very difficult to establish. It is a common practice for the native to take the father's first name as his surname and thus two cousins from the paternal side will have entirely different names.

The very common occurrence of cousin unions among those in the territories, as well as in the family histories investigated, strongly suggests that the majority of patients whose family histories were not ascertained were the offspring of cousin unions. Unfortunately the questionnaires were sent out before I realized the magnitude of the proportion of cousin marriages among the natives. In any case, many of those family histories obtained in reply to my questionnaire show evidence of psychoses on both paternal and maternal sides and it is unlikely that the majority are exceptions to what can be considered as the rule in the matter of matrimony.

The importance of intra-clan marriages is shown in those family histories received, as well as the percentages of hereditary forms of mental disorder or defect in the hospital material, especially when we keep in mind how seldom a psychotic or defective native is certified in his natural habitat. Even in urban areas his certification as mentally disordered or defective often comes about only as the result of infringement of law or the violation of some regulation.

The genealogical tree of Duwali Nkompela, a pagan native, who was of tremendous assistance to me in these investigations, will throw a great deal of light on the appointment of guardians or godfathers.

NKOMPELA NKALWENI.



KEY

- 1 C = First Cousin (Wife)
- 2 C = Second Cousin (Wife)
- 3 C = Third Cousin (Wife)
- X = Not Related (Wife)
- * = Not Married
- Fam. = Family
- c/o = Godfather or Hair to.
- Names of Girls not given.

Due to his position in this family, Duwali devoted a great deal of time to the study of the customs of his people. As a senior *kankata* he taught the *abakweta* their laws and customs and is considered as an authority by the elders.

GENEALOGICAL TREE

Nkompela Nkalweni married four wives. The first three were his second cousins and the fourth was a Basuto girl and not related.

First House.

From the first house were born three sons and one daughter :

Son, Kolo was given to his grandfather, as first son.

Son, Gogotya was kept by his own father.

Son, Nikina was given to his brother Gogotya.

Daughter was given to Gogotya.

According to the usual custom Gogotya should have been given to his mother's father, but the latter had such a large family that Nkompela assumed the guardianship of Gogotya.

Second House.

This house had one son, Zilindile, and seven daughters :

Zilindile was also taken by his father Nkompela.

Two daughters were given to Kolo, the first son of the first house.

One daughter was given to Gogotya, second son of the first house.

Three daughters were given to Zilindile, their brother and first son of the second house.

One daughter was given to Kantini, first son of the third house.

Third House.

This house had four sons :

Kantini was given to Kolo, first son of first house.

Sonamzi was given to Kantini.

Manthali was given to Sonamzi.

Mokweni was given to Manthali.

Fourth House.

This house had only one child, a girl Nontakumba (meaning "a flea"). She must have been of small stature. Nontakumba was given

to Kolo, first son of first house. She married a cousin and her second son Gongo was given to Nkompela (his grandfather) to establish the fourth house, because it had no male offspring.

CHILDREN OF THE FIRST SON, KOLO, OF NKOMPELA'S FIRST HOUSE

Kolo married two wives.

First House of Kolo.

The wife of the first house was his first cousin, by whom he had two sons and a daughter :

The son, Litye (stone) was given to the kraal of his great grandfather Kalweni. Litye's father Kolo was also given to the kraal of Kalweni. Litye married his third cousin.

The son, Ngavulana, was taken by Kolo's kraal.

The daughter was given to the kraal of her great grandfather Nkalweni.

Second House of Kolo.

The wife of the second house was Kolo's second cousin. She had several miscarriages and brought forth no live children.

Ngavulana, Kolo's second son of the first house was adopted by the wife of Kolo's second house, so that this house should not die out.

CHILDREN OF THE SECOND SON, GOGOTYA, OF NKOMPELA'S
FIRST HOUSE

Only One House.

Gogotya married his second cousin and had six children by her, four sons and two daughters :

Son, Koti was given to the kraal of his father Gogotya. Koti married his third cousin.

Son, Bambele was given to Koti's kraal and he married a second cousin.

Son, Bukwana was given to Bambele's kraal and he married a third cousin.

Son, Tiyo was given to Bukwana's kraal and he married a second cousin.

One daughter was given to Koti's kraal.

The second daughter was given to Bambeli's kraal.

CHILDREN OF THIRD SON, NIKINA, OF NKOMPELA'S FIRST HOUSE

Nikina married two wives.

First House.

The wife of the first house was not related and she had two children, a son and a daughter :

Son, Nonjyuwana (meaning " half bottle of brandy ") was taken by the kraal of his father and he married his second cousin.

Daughter was given to the kraal of her brother Nonjyuwana and she married a third cousin.

Second House.

The wife of the second house was Nikina's second cousin. She had no children. Nkompela gave her Gongo to establish her kraal. Gongo thus held two houses, i.e. the fourth house of Nkompela and the second house of Nikina. If Nikina had had another son, this son would have been given to Nikina's second house.

CHILDREN OF THE FIRST SON, ZILINDILE (THE WATCHER), OF
NKOMPELA'S SECOND HOUSE

Zilindile married his third cousin and had six children, three sons and three daughters :

Son, Tshefu was taken by Zilindile's kraal and he married his second cousin.

Son, Mgodini (gold-mine) was given to Tshefu's kraal and is still unmarried.

Son, Goko was given to Mgodini's kraal and is still unmarried. One daughter was given to Tshefu.

The second daughter was given to Mgodini.

The third daughter was given to Goko.

These brothers only assume the responsibility of guardianship to their sisters after their father's decease. If the first girl marries, her *lobola* is claimed by her father and her grandfather. If the second girl marries, her *lobola* is claimed by her father and his first son. If the third girl marries her *lobola* is claimed by the second and third sons and the father, or only the second and third sons if the father is deceased.

CHILDREN OF THE FIRST SON, KANTINI, OF NKOMPELA'S THIRD
HOUSE

Kantini married three wives.

First House.

The wife of the first house was Kantini's second cousin and she had four children, two boys and two girls :

Son, Duwali (the informant) married his second cousin.

Son, Maxili was given to Duwali's kraal and married a non-relative.

One daughter was given to Duwali and the other to Maxili.

Duwali, the first son of Kantini, was given to the kraal of his great grandfather Nkalweni, and became responsible for the perpetuation of Nkalweni's kraal and at the same time became heir to Nkalweni's estate. Duwali has to be consulted in all matters concerning Nkalweni's kraal and as a councillor he is senior to his own father Kantini. His position in the family made it imperative that he should be well-versed in all the laws and customs.

Second House.

Wife of second house was not related to Kantini. She had seven children, three sons and four daughters :

Son, Mofi, married his second cousin and he was taken to his father Kantini ; since Duwali was claimed by Nkalweni's kraal, Kantini claimed the first son of his second house as his heir.

Son, Yuru married a third cousin and he was given to Mofi.

Son, Nekwana was given to Yuru and is still unmarried.

First daughter was taken by Kantini.

Second daughter was given to Mofi.

Third daughter was given to Yuru.

Fourth daughter was given to Nekwana.

Third House.

The wife of this house was Kantini's third cousin. This house had no offspring and she was given Mofi's second son to establish and plant forth this house.

CHILDREN OF THE SECOND SON, SONAMZI, OF NKOMPELA'S
THIRD HOUSE

Sonamzi married one wife and she was not related to him. He had three sons and two daughters by her :

Son, Gongota was taken by his father Sonamzi.

Son, Baneka (lightning) was given to his brother Gongota.

Son, Nomayakazi was given to Baneka.

First daughter was given to Gongota.

Second daughter was given to Baneka.

CHILDREN OF THE THIRD SON, MANTHALI, OF NKOMPELA'S THIRD
HOUSE

Manthali married his second cousin and had one house. He had four children, three sons and one daughter :

Son, Makebo was given to his father. He married a non-relative.

Son, Nkefana was given to Makebo.

Son, Walazi was given to Nkefana.

The daughter was given to Makebo.

CHILDREN OF THE FOURTH SON, MOKWENI, OF NKOMPELA'S
THIRD HOUSE

Mokweni married his third cousin and had four children, three sons and a daughter :

Son, Fose was taken by his father Mokweni, and he married a Hottentot girl.

Son, Umzingelo (the hunter) was given to Fose and he also married a Hottentot girl.

Son, Mambukele was given to Umzingelo.

The daughter was given to Fose.

It will be observed that Fose and Umzingelo both married Hottentot women. This is unheard of among pagan natives in the territories, but these two young men went to live in the Orange Free State and thus became detribalized.

Among the descendants of Nkompele Nkalweni are said to be many cases of *ukutwasa* and *ukupambana*. Detailed descriptions of

ukutwasa in Gogotyá's grandchildren conform to typical schizophrenic syndromes. One became a witch-doctor and one is said to be subject to fits (epileptic seizures). One case of epilepsy was observed in one of Kantini's grandchildren.

After discussing his genealogical tree, Duwali agreed that their custom of marrying cousins was detrimental to the mental health of his people. Duwali, who is a very intelligent pagan, considers that his people can be educated to discard this customary form of selecting a mate.

Owing to the absence of other intellectual pursuits, most of the pagan's thinking concerns the memorizing of the genealogy and history of his forebears, and he displays a remarkable memory in retailing this information.

CHAPTER X

THE NATIVE'S CONCEPTION OF MENTAL DISORDER

THE native's conception of mental abnormalities and of the scope and range of behaviour which he allots to normal individuals, is bound up with his surrounding environment and coloured by those customs and beliefs underlying witchcraft and *ukutwasa*. The cultural heritage of the native determines his perceptions according to mythological beliefs and determines in the main the nature of his delusional content. Apart from the generic ideas there are those particular configurations having special meanings and values for him only. But these insane ideas having particular reference to personal experience are so much in harmony with the generic ideas, that differentiation between the particular irrational and the general irrational (witchcraft) is indeed a difficult task for the normal pagan native, because so much of his beliefs belongs to the universe of irrationality.

As a result of his culture pattern, he lacks the ability for discerning the differences between expressions of thought which are on the whole similar. Hence mental disorder is accounted for by the causative factors of belief and these causative factors are not ascribed to disruptive influences in the personality but to exogenous causes belonging to the domain of mythology.

The facility with which the mechanism of projection operates in the mind of the average native is in every way similar to the mental activity expressed in delusional thought. It stands to reason that the possession of a system of knowledge which defines the causation of insane behaviour as something else than insanity, and which differs profoundly from our conceptions of behaviour disorders as mental disorder, cannot be accepted by him and be in harmony with his systems of belief. The numbers of parents and relatives who interview me about those of their families detained in the mental hospital refrain very tactfully on the whole from expressing an opinion as to their ideas about the patient's illness. Neither do they express any agreement, but just silently listen and then make another request for

the patient's discharge as if they had never heard my opinion in the first instance. They never raise an argument against my opinion, but just ignore it and introduce all sorts of subterfuges to persuade me to accede to their requests. All this clearly shows how we move in different worlds of thought with the partition of mythology between us. My scientific training and culture has given me one form of reality and his mythology and culture pattern have given him another.

The native recognizes mental abnormality, but will not accept it as a disease of the mind having its origin in the mind or in the constitution of the individual. It is caused by some extraneous factor over which man can exercise control if the proper man and the proper medicines are employed in the treatment. Hence he has differentiated, to his own satisfaction, two forms of mental disturbances. The first is the condition known as *ukutwasa* to which reference was made under witchcraft. This condition is believed to precede the development of mediumistic psychic powers and the patient's subjective experiences are accepted as reality. The belief in the necessity of the association of such a condition with mediumistic abilities and the nature of the individual's conditionings to traditional culture and his attitudes towards the *Izinyanya* determine that his psychopathological reactions, or phases of mental abnormalities, must follow the *ukutwasa* pattern as ordained by ritual, custom and belief, according to the structure of his society. There is thus to him no way of distinguishing *ukutwasa* from mental conditions displaying hallucinations and delusions, patterned on traditional belief. The descriptions given by *amagqira* in regard to their *ukutwasa* experiences are, if believed in, sufficiently phantastic to be classed as psychotic experiences. But one feels that they are often retailing the accepted conditions demanded by ritualistic practice and belief and not their own personal experiences. If the witch-doctors are not merely trying to impress one with their supernatural experiences, then some abnormal psychological state may be responsible for this lack of insight into phantastic experience, or it may be merely a form of identifying themselves with the traditional culture patterns of their profession. It seems entirely unnecessary for a person who is mediumistic to undergo all these complicated, ritualistic practices in the development of his psychic powers.

There seems to be some evidence (especially if we take into consideration the family histories of patients) which leads us to the conclusion that psychotic behaviour patterns, away back in the

history of this culture, brought about a pattern of behaviour, later incorporated in the *ukutwasa*, as a necessary ritual in the development of mediumistic abilities.

In native culture all mental disturbances influencing behaviour, with clear consciousness and more or less systematized thought without evident, scattered thought and undue excitement, are classed in the category of *ukutwasa*. Especially is this so if such disturbances are associated with delusions and hallucinations concerning the power to cure disease, to find the mysterious herbs having magic power and to hear the voices of departed spirits giving these instructions. We recognize that these mental symptoms are on the whole those of schizophrenia or epileptic psychoses. It is possible that the psychotics of the past have left their impressions on the memory of the race and these impressions have ultimately become the recognized form of behaviour and belief for most of those claiming mediumistic powers.

We are aware that the people have a great need, according to their beliefs, to find hidden and mysterious forces to counteract the power of evil and witchcraft, and in consequence the professions of magic power by the psychotic enhance his value and he becomes an asset rather than a liability. It is thus readily understood why the psychotic claims the *ukutwasa* condition or is credited with the *ukutwasa* condition by his relatives. It is claimed by *isanuses*, witch-doctors and the people, that, should a person become *ukutwasa* but be restrained from undergoing the ritualistic treatment of becoming a doctor, that person will as a form of punishment ultimately lose his sense. This helps us to understand one aspect of the natives' aversion to mental hospitals.

Practically all psychoses having hallucinatory components conforming to traditional belief, are considered and treated as *ukutwasa* states. I said "practically all psychoses" because there is another category of mental disorder known to the native as "loss of senses", or better *ukupambana*. This syndrome comprises all those conditions of confusion of mind, stupor and stuporous dementia, and has special reference to epilepsy and catatonic stupors. These conditions are attributed to evil influences, and the deprivation of clear mental function is viewed as if the previous mental function has actually been taken away. The idea of "senses" becomes an entity in this conception, in fact something almost concrete which can be removed from the personality in the manner of amputating a limb or finger, etc. It will be remembered that the *Tikoloshe* and *Impundulu* can cause this

condition. Here again some recognized method is employed to counteract the evil influence and restore the senses.

There is some similarity in this "loss of senses" to the North American Indian belief that they can entice the soul to leave a person's body during sleep and kill the soul when away from the body. I have not discovered any evidence as to how the *Tikoloshe* or *Impundulu* remove the senses, except by giving the person certain medicines to drink or by the action of some mysterious magic. In any case, "loss of senses" or *ukupambana* is not accepted as a form of insanity, but as the result of witchcraft influences. It may happen that under such circumstances the psychotic in a stupor, or with a clouded consciousness, is treated by another psychotic with a clear consciousness, but suffering from delusions and hallucinations. We cannot deny that such a situation has its parallels even in our culture.

I tried to ascertain whether the native has any ideas about hereditary factors leading to degeneracy. He claims that these factors are operative and that they do attend to them. For instance, the health of the girl selected as a bride is a case in point. Again, the taboo on first cousin marriages is an example. They debar first cousin marriages on the paternal side, but allow second cousin marriages on that side. First cousin marriages are tabooed on the maternal side unless special arrangements are made during the *lobola* discussions. All heredity is reputed to come from the male; he deposits the spermatozoa from which the child will come, while the woman is merely a receptacle and provides the maternal conditions of development and birth. But, in spite of the taboo on first cousin marriages on the female side, these marriages do take place. Again provision has been made in custom's practice to remove this blood tie by some mysterious magic force connected with the *lobola*. Should a first cousin on the mother's side be chosen, extra cattle are given in the *lobola* to wash out this blood tie or incest taboo. As a result of this procedure it is believed no defect can be inherited.

So the native has some concept about degenerate factors as a result of too close intermarriage, but this conception is entirely limited to physical factors. They consider the hereditary manifestations will only be discernible in physique and growth. Mind is entirely left out of this category of heredity and the native does not believe that mental degenerate factors can be inherited. The weakness that he fears is that of physique, not of mental development.

But we have observed that personality immaturity receives atten-

tion at the *Abakweta* ceremonies, so that there must be some recognition of under-development of mind. This personality immaturity is not associated with a weak mind or permanent mental defectiveness. The native's conception of this immaturity is optimistically entertained as a delayed maturity and not a permanent defect. It is not conceived as a weakness in mind *per se*, but a slowness in the whole growth process. So they are prepared to make the neophyte wait from year to year until he is mature enough, according to their standards of judgment, to become a man.

Whenever a condition of feeble-mindedness is explained to the parents, they refuse to accept it as weak-mindedness, even if their own testimony shows slowness in speech and the inability to perform the simple tasks required in a kraal. They accept these defects, but argue that the boy's mind is not affected. These things are so because he has not grown to a man's estate, and this view is frequently expressed even if the patient is twenty years old and over.

It will be seen that according to their conception, abnormalities cannot affect the mind as a natural process. All conditions producing an alteration in mental activities, other than *ukutwasa*, fall within the domain of witchcraft mythology. *Isanuses* have made observations which imply some idea of "mental conflict." For instance, they mention that certain pagan families wash their children at birth in a specially prepared medicine. This rite prevents the individual, whether as a child or adult, from divulging any information detrimental to his family clan or kraal. They claim that sometimes a crime is committed by a member of the family and the members so initiated into this bond of loyalty and secrecy will not divulge what they know. But this may so prey on their minds that it will ultimately result in "loss of senses" for some individual, for, however hard he may try, he will be unable to impart this information to anyone. This conception is largely based on native prisoners who become psychotic during imprisonment. Personal experience indicates that these offenders were mildly psychotic before trial. In any case, in studying these views of *isanuses* we gain the impression that the factor of mental conflict is their prime consideration. But on allowing them to elaborate further on these supposed causative factors it appears that the idea of conflict is really meant as a struggle of the person against the paralysing effects of prohibitions imposed by witchcraft medicines to prevent him from divulging this particular information incriminating a member of the clan; so that it is really

the evil influences of the witchcraft medicine obstructing a natural desire that causes the "loss of senses". This rite of instituting clan loyalty was no doubt much more prevalently employed at one time than now, and may, by its indirect racial suggestive influence, have produced that bond of loyalty among members of a clan or family which prevents one native from incriminating another.

On one occasion when I visited the kraal of a female native patient recently discharged as improved from the mental hospital, no one in the immediate neighbourhood of the girl's kraal could give me any information about such a person who had been a patient in the hospital. The patient's family were expecting a visit from me for the purpose of investigating the family history and they fortunately sent out two girls to watch for my car. Later on, when the girl's family was asked why the neighbours refused to direct me to their kraal, they replied that the others did not know I was a friend and that they thought I came to take the girl back. This experience, not the only one of its kind, illustrates the attitude of the native towards the white man and his institutions.

Among the raw natives or pagans a person is not committed to the mental hospital at the first appearance of psychotic behaviour. Be it *ukutwasa* or *ukupambana* (loss of senses), the patient is first treated by the *isanuse*, *amaggira* or *amaxhwele*, as the case may be. This treatment may consist of drinking medicines, wearing of charms, incantations and the sacrifice of animal life. The genuine *ukutwasa* is treated by means of séance dances and clapping of hands. A patient suffering from either of these conditions may remain under the treatment of the *isanuse* or witch-doctor for years and actually stay at the doctor's kraal. Knowing that the white man will lock up the patient in a hospital, no one will give any information about such a patient. At night time the patient is guarded and tied up in a hut and during the day he is tied up in the mealie lands or some other secret hiding-place in the hills. The patient's mental condition is jealously guarded from all those not to be trusted, and he is only released after he is considered to have regained his senses or acquired the power to concoct medicines, cure diseases and locate mysterious herbs.

Personal investigations of pre-admission histories of patients show that some of them have been psychotic for as long a period as ten years prior to certification. Histories of well-established cases of schizophrenia show that they were *ukutwasa* five or more years before

admission. The *isanuses* informed me that these cases stay at home for years before they are admitted to the mental hospital. One may well ask, why they are ultimately certified as mentally disordered. There are two sets of reasons. The first concerns the proximity of the psychotic person to the European's habitations, such as farms and trading stores. This also applies to the native in urban areas.

While his psychotic behaviour exceeds the limits allowed by European social demands, the same behaviour in the kraals under the elastic concept of normality would not create undue concern. He is, of course, apprehended where possible for crimes against persons and crimes against property which come to the notice of the police, so that the first set of reasons operate where the psychotic and defective native becomes a nuisance to European society.

The second set of reasons concern his reaction towards his own social milieu in the kraals in the territories. His relatives and friends may appeal for help to the headman, chief, police or magistrate if a native runs amok, becomes violent and uncontrollable, assaults his children and others, sets the hut on fire and becomes a general danger to his people. Only when such behaviour is manifested will the relatives resort to the authorities for assistance.

It will be realized that the demands for adjustment in his natural environment are so simple that the average patient can continue to live in the kraals without seriously disturbing the routine of life. Besides, if his psychic abnormality assists him to function as a herbalist or witch-doctor, he becomes quite an economic asset to his family.

When one considers the raw native's attitude towards the mental hospital, his conception of mental disorder and the circumstances which lead to certification and committal, then we are forced to the conclusion that the number of those mentally disordered living in the kraals must be large. A study of the family histories supports this assumption. Such a state of affairs has far-reaching influences, especially in reference to crimes against property, stock theft and the formation of habitual criminals, but more important still is its reference to crimes of violence and homicide, where the only motive before the court is a grudge against the victim. Grudge as a motive for murder is as easily accepted by the prosecution and the court in this enlightened era as it was a hundred years ago. Naturally the court is not cognizant of the fact that grudge which leads to murder and a paranoid or other psychotic delusion may be the same. The education of the native to accept these mental conditions as outside his control

becomes an essential part of native administration and with such enlightenment must come the extra burden of taxation and expenditure in the upkeep of institutions. But these considerations will in the end compensate us for the accumulated effects our future generations will have to face.

At present the average European knows so little about native mentality that a deed actuated by psychotic motives is readily accepted as some form of behaviour normal to the primitive native, whereas he may seriously question the rationality of such an act in one of his own culture. The police consider that witch-doctors as a class are rogues and swindlers. Of course, under this general conception they include *isanuses* or diviners and herbalists. The impressions of the lone policeman stationed in the native territories are based on personal experience and no doubt, apart from his lack of discrimination, carry a great deal of truth. The family histories of psychotic patients at present detained in the mental hospital teem with witch-doctors. In fact, it is rare to find one without a few preceding generations of witch-doctors. The respected pagan's opinion regarding the prevalence of these practitioners shows that this profession has indeed become the haven of refuge for many abnormal characters, prophets and seers. Hence the police opinion as to their general craftiness, unreliability and cunning is based on experience having a strong element of truth. As previously stated, they conform broadly to the class of abnormal characters known in our culture as psychopaths. They display in conduct all shades of deviations from the average person, and it is not unlikely that many of them are psychotic persons in remissive phases or improved or relieved without insight.

Having had the opportunity of making friends with several genuine *isanuses*, I cannot help regretting the inclusion of the constitutionally abnormal element in this category of native doctors.

FAMILY HISTORIES

A study of the psychopathology of the native cannot be convincing without information about his progenitors. When this work was undertaken I was faced with the great difficulty of obtaining the family histories of native patients in the mental hospital. This difficulty did not only concern the native's attitude towards mental disorder and his aversion to the mental hospital, but his geographical inaccessibility. Few of them receive letters, so that this form of

communication could reach only a very limited number. Again, there was the difficulty of following up a family line by means of the patient's name, since patients were admitted with all sorts of peculiar names having no reference to the family name or his particular surname. Police apprehensions frequently received the name of "unknown" until the patient became sufficiently clear in mind to give some information about himself.

The districts from which patients come are inhabited by many different tribes, some more than two hundred miles away and hence outside the scope of personal investigation. The investigations of family histories were grouped into three divisions. First, information obtained personally and by the staff from relatives and friends visiting the patient. Second, personal investigations during field work in Tembuland. Third, information by means of circular letters. By these means a great deal of very interesting information was obtained, especially the personal histories which were investigated by myself in Tembuland.

I realized at the very outset that it would be futile to enquire for evidence of mental disorder by employing our conceptions of mental disease, so the first study was devoted to ascertaining the natives' conception of mental disorder, and as a result of these findings a method of approach was developed, based entirely on his conceptions. The enquiry hence entered a sphere of his thinking and concerned itself with his beliefs without disputing the reality of his beliefs.

The native's reactions gave the impression that since we went into his domain of thinking, we were not discussing the white man's conception of "madness"; furthermore, there was no doubt a desire to convince me that they were right in their beliefs, since these people whom we considered insane afterwards became clever witch-doctors.

There was another aspect of the matter, as is shown in so many of the replies here produced, namely that I would become convinced of the reality of their beliefs and discharge the patient. This idea no doubt accounted for so many prompt replies. The natives reached by circular letters were those living near European habitations or in urban areas. Many of them have migrated quite recently from the native territories. Others who have lived in urban areas for a long time have lost touch with their family histories.

The circular letters, in the form of a questionnaire, were addressed to all those relatives or friends who had written enquiring about a patient within the last three years. There were one hundred and

fourteen such enquiries sent out and seventy-eight replies were received. Thirty letters were returned "unknown". The replies received were of such evidential nature that they will be reproduced verbatim. If we take into consideration that there are six hundred native patients in the hospital at present, it will give some idea of the extent of the isolation and absence of contact between patients and relatives existing at the present time.

Only those family histories obtained in reply to the questionnaire will be published, since they are practically all similar in showing the heavy tainting in the families. The questionnaire read as follows :

" This letter is addressed to you to ask for your kind assistance in the very important study of certain mental conditions among the Bantu people. Any information you can give will be of great assistance in understanding the mental trouble of your relative . . . (name of patient given).

Kindly supply me with the following information as soon as possible, as it is urgent :

- (a) Was there any *ukutwasa* in the family of the patient, such as grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc.
- (b) Did any of them ever fall down, lose their senses and afterwards run about wild.
- (c) Did any of them hear voices speaking to them, telling them to gather herbs for medicine.
- (d) Did any of them claim to have been called to the *Abantubomlambo*.

If you cannot write in English, then reply in native (Xosa). If you find difficulty in writing, please show this letter to your employer, police station, magistrate, or minister of the church and ask for assistance. Place your reply in enclosed stamped addressed envelope and post it."

Replies are given verbatim in the appendix.

The psychopathological antecedents in the forebears and relatives of the hospital patients are clearly in evidence in these family histories and support the inference that *ukutwasa*, as it is popularly conceived, as well as *ukupambana*, are recognized psychopathological conditions well known to psychiatry. The hereditary bases of the biogenetic psychoses are thus further multiplied in this culture by the custom of second and third cousin marriage.

The relatives describe the preadmission histories of the patients as *ukutwasa* or *ukupambana* and they claim that these conditions from which the patients suffer are of the same nature as those conditions from which the forebears and relatives suffered who were not sent to mental hospitals. It is, indeed, rare to find a native patient whose

mental condition was not diagnosed as *ukutwasa* or *ukupambana* by the *amagqira* or *amaxhwele* prior to admission. All this evidence indicates how the psychotic native can exist in this culture without becoming a burden to the community, and provides grounds for suspecting that mental disorder or mental defect is prevalent among these people.

Those who ignore the principles of constitutional medicine and thereby place the onus for the occurrence of mental disorder on the complexity of civilization, frequently remark on the rarity of mental disorder among primitive races, but these investigations definitely contradict any grounds for such an assumption among the native tribes included in this study. The evidence shows that an assumption of the rarity of mental disorder among primitive tribes is dependent on the lack of intimate contact and comprehension of the culture of these people. Knowledge and understanding are again dependent on psychiatric knowledge and clinical experience of human behaviour problems. Without these necessary bases to one's observations, psychopathological conditions may easily escape detection due to their immersion in mythological beliefs.

The barriers created by culture, belief, language, general suspiciousness and secrecy are powerful factors for determining the superficiality of non-scientific observations. For instance, the behaviour of natives is rarely if ever associated with mental disorder in the minds of those who have spent their lives in close proximity to the native territories. These people are as a rule astonished at the numbers of native mental patients in the hospital. This astonishment is the result of a common misconception of Europeans that mental disorder is a rarity among natives. Naturally these are predominantly the conceptions of lay minds, whose idea of "insanity" is based on the performance of simian antics.

There is another factor which leads to a superficial conception of native psychology, namely the outward appearance of his behaviour. The freedom of the pagan native in his manner of dress, the semi-nudity of his body and his emphasis on the physical activities of life, leading to apparent robust physiques and freedom in movement and development of the muscular systems, have led the European to conceive that the native's psychological well-being is synonymous with his physical appearance.

When these investigations were first begun, I was under the impression that the native was extremely careful to avoid marriage with a relative. This impression was obtained from the opinion

expressed by Europeans who have lived for years among the natives and others who claim a knowledge of native culture. The detribalized native gave me a similar impression until personal investigations disclosed exactly what relationship is understood as a blood relationship by the native. The blood relations which are avoided in marriage are those which fall within the fold of the incest taboo and comprise parent and child, brother and sister, first cousin unions on the father's side or marriage with an uncle or aunt. The European thus interprets the native's conception of blood relationships according to the standards of his own culture and not according to the definitions of the incest taboo and, in consequence, assumes that there is a strict taboo which applies to marriage between cousins.

From my experience it appears that schizophrenia predominates over all other psychopathological conditions. This prevalence must be due to certain factors not operating to the same degree in European constitution and culture. According to Leland Hinsie¹ schizophrenia is more prevalent among negro races than among whites, so that intermarriage cannot be the primary contributing cause. There must be something else in the constitution of the native which makes him more prone to this form of mental disorder, quite apart from his beliefs, customs and general patriarchal and phallic cultural pattern. The American negro follows no such culture and still the rates per 100,000 of population were 48.6 among negroes and 16.9 among whites. If schizophrenia is due to psychogenetic causes then why should psychological factors be more potent in precipitating this disorder among negro races who have generations of European culture?

Clinical psychiatry supports the view that environmental factors which may precipitate a schizophrenic disorder, can only bring about such a mental condition if there is a personal predisposition in the constitution of the individual. The ever-apparent mental conflicts and unconscious difficulties in a schizophrenic seem to be more the effects of some deeper biological inadequacy than a cause of the condition. In this respect it is well to remember that Freud himself has said :

“The structure of psycho-analysis that we have erected is really only a superstructure which at some future time must be placed upon its organic background.”

The study of schizophrenia to my mind shows that this “organic background” is reflected in the inadequacy of the individual, inherent

¹ *Syllabus of Psychiatry*, by Leland Hinsie.

in his constitution, and this inadequacy will facilitate a breakdown when the individual meets an environmental situation which is beyond his control. Psychogenic causes can thus only produce a schizophrenic disorder if in the constitution of the individual there is something predisposing him to such a psychotic reaction.

Schizophrenic regression seems to be the natural consequence of a defect in the physiological process, which hinders it from attaining its destiny of maturity. We find that the outstanding characteristic of schizophrenia is the manner in which the individual employs his *libido* or energy. By the time the individual comes under trained observation the regression of his *libido* has already begun. Now it not infrequently happens that on investigating his personal history, we come across many experiences and many situations he had to face in life, which we may, on the basis of mental conflict, consider as causative, and it is not unusual for us to consider these conditions as causative because we reason glibly that he was frustrated or thwarted in his aims and that he developed some conflict which, as result of repression, led to a regression of *libido* to early infantile phases of development, whereas a conception of the "organism as a whole" gives the impression that the psychogenic aspect is but a by-product of the schizophrenic process.

Personal histories carefully investigated by myself show that even the parents have observed peculiarities in the development of the patient as a child, wherein he differed from other children. I frequently came across slowness in learning to speak, prolonged attachment to the mother, tardiness in joining *imitshotsho* parties until late in adolescence, and a general quietness and reserve throughout childhood, with docility and obedience as outstanding traits and often emphasized by these pagan parents. In a large number of cases the onsets were similar according to the descriptions of the parents. They observed a gradual falling off of interests in the usual social activities of the kraal. The patient became solitary, would go and eat his food by himself and not infrequently became irritable and annoyed in the presence of others and complained of the noise. So he became more and more sullen until ultimately he refused to speak. The next phase was usually one of excitement, impulsive restlessness and hearing the voices of the *Izinyanya*, followed by running wild into the hills and gathering herbs. The majority of personal histories indicate that the individual has always remained more or less fixed to infantile stages of development.



CATATONIC
Burst of laughter

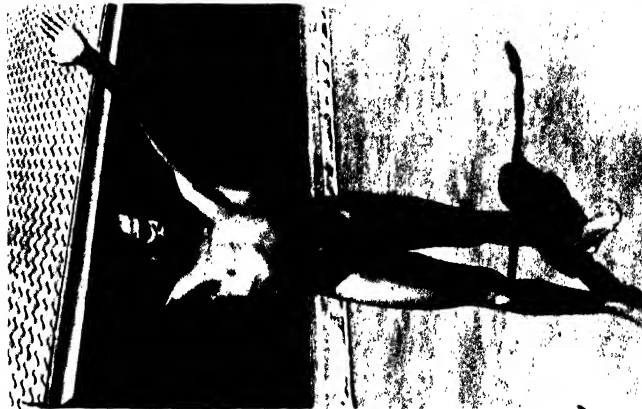


Photo by Autho
CATATONIC
Flexibilitas Cerea

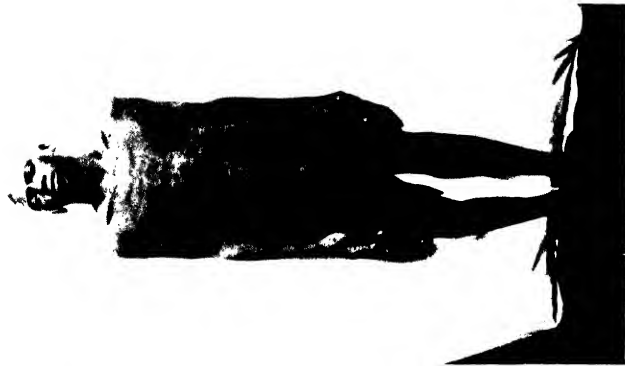


Photo by Author
IMBECILE
Uncircumcised

In a number of patients the psychoses seem to have been precipitated by circumstances which forced the individual to relinquish his infantile attachments, especially those who developed schizophrenia on the gold mines in Johannesburg and others who became psychotic shortly after the *Abakweta* ceremonies. The former describe the intense homesickness and longing for their folks in the kraals. A number of those who have been admitted to the hospital have histories of becoming ill while working in the gold mines and as a result have returned to the territories. These illnesses were, according to their descriptions, of a narcissistic, hypochondriacal nature, comprising the usual symptoms of body ache, stomach ache, headache and tired feelings. In view of the medical treatment these boys receive on the gold mines their return to the territories by the authorities is evidence that their symptoms were not the result of physical ailments but that they were psychological reactions perhaps based on feelings of insecurity. On return home their symptoms disappeared for a while, according to information given by the relatives, until at a later date some other form of psychotic behaviour necessitated committal to the mental hospital.

Further enquiry brought to light that in almost all the patients falling in this category, there were episodes of psychotic behaviour long before their advent to the gold mines, such as hearing the voices of the *Izinyanya*, seeing a *Mamlambo*, and other mild psychotic phases. No doubt these natives were relieved, or were in remissive phases when they recruited for the mines. The medical man examining large batches of natives at a time for the recruiting corporation cannot be expected to observe these subtle psychological states in a pagan; besides his concern is the physical health of the native. So we observe that environmental influences may lead to conflicts and morbid reactions and colour the content of the psychotic picture, but all the time it seems to be but an incident, or better a small process within a greater process, moving in a certain direction, characterized by the withdrawal of interest from the environment and the regression of the *libido*.

In our attempt to understand mental disorder or behaviour disorders, we have divided the human personality into two definite spheres, the organic and the psychic. With the advent of Freud's theory of the *libido*, we proceeded to employ psycho-analytic concepts in our interpretations of the symptomatology of the non-organic causative group of mental disorders, because we could not find an organic pathology implying disease processes in the brain or some

definite toxin contributing towards such a pathology. By ignoring the imperfections of our instruments of investigation, we are inclined to accept the findings as if the soma has little to contribute towards our understanding of such mental conditions as schizophrenic behaviour disorders. I mention schizophrenia in particular, because it was schizophrenia which prompted me to study the mythology and culture of the pagan native.

A careful clinical study of schizophrenia in Europeans, Cape coloureds, Malays and pagan natives during a period extending over years, has shown how rich this psychosis is in a symptomatology supporting Freud's theory of the *libido*, the various mechanisms of human psychology and the stages of personality development. But the finding of epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, microcephalic idiots and schizophrenia in the blood relatives of my patients, as well as the clinical phenomena of this disorder in various cultures, has impressed me with the fact that the essential factor in schizophrenia is the organic background. This conception is further supported by my experiments on schizophrenic patients with sodium amytal, carbon dioxide, alcohol and last, but not least, psycho-analytic treatment of early schizophrenic European patients. My experiments with sodium amytal, carbon dioxide and alcohol were limited to groups of catatonic patients in a stuporous condition, that is, resistive, mute and inaccessible. Under the influence of these chemical agents many of these patients became accessible and expressed their ideas in words, but the ideas so expressed were still irrational, disconnected and as bizarre as any other non-stuporous schizophrenic would express.

As a result of the psycho-analytic treatment of these early schizophrenic cases, some continued to regress and become dilapidated in mental functions; others made some attempt at adjustment, which can be considered as improvements in their conditions. But the majority of these improved forms of adjustment could only function in an environment where the social milieu was contented to tolerate the personality inadequacies, and did not force the individual into complexities of behaviour beyond his capacity level.

A recent visit to many psychiatric centres in America and Europe, especially "The Psychopathic Hospital", Boston, Mass., under Dr. Macfie Campbell, "The New York Psychiatric Institute" under Dr. Cheney, "The Phipps Clinic" under Professor Adolf Meyer, "Morningside Hospital" under Professor D. K. Henderson, "The Medical Psychological Institute" under Dr. Rees, "The Amsterdam

University Clinic" under Dr. Bauman, "The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute" under Professor Vogt and "The Psychiatric Clinic" under Professor Hans Maier, Zurich, has made it very apparent in what different worlds we are moving in our conceptions about schizophrenia. Some schools of thought seemed almost timid and apologetic when the organic or constitutional factors in schizophrenia came up for consideration.

People speak airily about the "Organism as a whole" and then proceed to emphasize its psychological aspects exclusively. Others speak about wrong attitudes and habits of conduct during childhood as the determining factors in the schizophrenic syndrome. There seems to be almost a compulsion to place the onus on sociological factors, while the biological aspects receive scanty attention. Various abstractions are made from the totality of the psychotic manifestations and these are made to fit certain prevailing theories. Even if the psychological approach to schizophrenia remains the only feasible and practical approach, it is indeed bad medicine if we divorce this psychobiological process from its constitutional and organic determinants. We cannot proceed to have science for science's sake, but we must view science as subservient to the needs of society and therefore science must strive to assist us in a better understanding and control of our social problems, and schizophrenia is definitely a social problem. There is thus a decided need that the various schools of thought should find some common platform on which to approach this problem and, to my mind, the study of genetics offers one of the essential planks in such a platform.

The triad, mental deficiency, epilepsy and schizophrenia occurring in the inbred pagan families studied, as well as my personal observations of the careful work done at the "Kaiser Wilhelm Institute", Buch, Berlin, have strongly influenced me in seeking the determinants of schizophrenia in the soma. I have met psychiatrists who were so engrossed in certain mechanisms of schizophrenic thought, or pathological fixations of the schizophrenic patient, that the picture of the psychosis as a whole became of secondary importance. The regression of *libido*, which is so characteristic of this psychosis, leads to the assumption that schizophrenia is the result of causes similar to those operating in the production of the psychoneuroses; but experience in the treatment of both schizophrenia and psychoneuroses by psychotherapeutic methods has shown me that the former carries a bigger load of the organic than the latter, and that the capacity of the patient

to respond to treatment depends on the degree of malignancy of the organic determinants. Therefore we cannot truthfully conceive the excursions of the *libido* or psychic energy without taking into consideration the neurogenic media through which this energy must function and manifest itself in psychological phenomena.

Again, the integration of these psychological phenomena as a personality in action cannot be divorced from the soma through which it manifests itself. The confusion of schizophrenic determinants with psychoneurotic determinants is dependent on the similarity of mental mechanisms in human beings. Since the ontogenetic experiences of humans are on the whole similar—especially if we consider birth, attachment to the mother, dependency on the parents, repressions necessitated by conforming to the particular culture, adolescence, heterosexuality and the responsibilities of adult life—the psychological reactions of man to frustrations must have a similarity. It is therefore not on the similarities in these two mental disturbances that we must build our conceptions, but rather on the differences between the clinical syndromes presented by them.

Behaviour of the *libido* becomes the best indicator of the difference between the psychoneurosis and schizophrenia. We find that the regression of the *libido* in the psychoneurotic is partial, and the patient is aware of his condition as something within him, something that troubles him, as a part of his mind which impels him to certain thoughts or forms of behaviour. He is able to discriminate and have insight into his condition, and to realize that it is not his entire psyche that is behaving in this peculiar manner. Apart from his rationalizations and projections, he is still aware of something operating in his mind which is foreign to the way he would like to feel and act. Again, he is able to retain the same social values as his social environment, whereas the schizophrenic becomes divorced from these social values of his environment. Here we must discriminate between ideas and interests, because the former are relative to the type of culture to which the patient belongs. For instance, the schizophrenic brought up in European culture will, as a result of his schizophrenic regression, manifest thoughts, actions and beliefs entirely foreign to his cultural pattern, whereas the psychoneurotic of the same culture will not lose the sense of values belonging to his culture.

The pagan native schizophrenic patient in his regression keeps on the whole within the fold of his cultural belief, expressed as ideas, because the archaic and magical forms of thought are as much part

of his normal state as they are of his psychotic state. Hence the great difficulty for the normal pagan native to discriminate between the rational and the irrational. There appears to be some correlation between the various stages of personality development in one of European culture, for instance, and the various forms of culture belonging to primitive races. We see this similarity between certain patterns of primitive culture, especially those with explicit magical thinking, and the infantile phases in the personality of the person brought up in European culture.

If we take, for example, two patients, a European schizophrenic of twenty years of age and of refined cultural environment, and the other a pagan native schizophrenic of the same age, then the European's training and environment must lead to the development of many more reality concepts in his system of beliefs than will be found in the mind of the native. Now if both of these patients were to regress to a stage of personality disintegration, with scattered thought and emotional deterioration, the European patient would have to traverse a greater psychological distance in his regression to reach the same clinical picture as is presented by the native patient. Hence, in the process of improvement, the native patient will find a level acceptable to his social environment before the European.

Again, the causes determining regression, if they are dependent on social cultural influences, must be more complex and facilitate regression more easily, since the European has to reach a much higher standard of adjustment in relation to the requirements of his social environment. In consequence, we would expect to find that schizophrenia is far more prevalent among Europeans than among pagan natives, but this is exactly contrary to clinical experience. From a psychogenetic point of view regression is dependent in the first place on external privation, before internal privation or repression and regression can come about.

Now external privation much more frequently besets the pathway of growth and personality development of the European child than it does in the life of the pagan native, seeing that they both emerge from their mothers with similar endowments or capacities for development, for it is only after birth that the cultural influences become operative in moulding the personality. When we mention "similar endowments" we must form a broad conception of those qualities and potentialities common to the human race and not consider individual differences in abilities and disabilities. Therefore, if in spite

of the profound differences between the two cultures, schizophrenia predominates in the pagan culture, external privation as a necessary precursor to regression cannot have the same importance in schizophrenia as it has in the psychoneurosis.

According to psycho-analytic concepts, regression must have fixation as a necessary component. Now this fixation must be conditioned by infantile trauma, so that when the individual's mind is presented with an adult problem, it might regress to infantile forms of gratification. There must thus first be the point of fixation and secondly the external privation which will facilitate the regression.

Now it is surely the experience of every psychiatrist, and especially those who ascribe schizophrenia to psychogenetic causes, that once we are presented with the pathological condition, we will always find evidence in the history of the patient, indicating some form of external privation and hence the cause of the regressive phenomena. But are these external privations, which are as common as head injuries in the histories of epileptics, really relevant to the issue under consideration? And are we not merely finding them and accepting them as causative or contributing factors because the system of psychology by means of which we are interpreting the psychosis demands such external privations? We cannot deny that this approach is prevalent, especially if we have to judge by the volumes written on the psycho-dynamics of schizophrenia. On account of such an approach, the other biological factors of equal, if not more, importance, are obscured by our predilections to find certain etiological conditions.

As previously mentioned, it becomes essential in our approach to schizophrenia and to psychoneurosis, that we seek for the differences and not the similarities which are always present. We find, for instance, that the psychoneurotic defends himself against the impulses of his infantile levels of development, whereas the schizophrenic drifts with the stream of regression and breaks with reality. The psychoneurotic keeps in touch with reality, and although the schizophrenic does so in the incipient phase, he soon relinquishes his hold on reality. In the psychoneurotic there is a patchy withdrawal of *libido* from the environment, whereas in schizophrenia there is a complete withdrawal, with the exception of the single tract retention of objective *libido* in paranoid conditions. In the psychoneurotic we find wish-fulfilling functions of the mind portrayed in dreams and waking phantasies, while in the schizophrenic they appear as wish-fulfilling

delusions and hallucinations, without any questioning attitude on the part of the patient as to the reality of these experiences.

The schizophrenic presents a clinical picture wherein the attitudes derived from the different age levels or stages of personality development are all mixed up. Another striking characteristic of schizophrenia is the difficulty of changing an attitude smoothly ; the change usually comes with a jerk, as if the patient must switch off from one, leave a gap and start another. This characteristic of schizophrenia strongly suggests some organic basis impeding the flow of energy and is especially marked in perseveration. Then again, there is divorcement between thought and mood. It seems as if the impulses or affective components cannot establish contact with the correct cognitive dispositions, and that somewhere in the physiological mechanism the nerve currents flow in wrong directions and give a bizarre and senseless appearance once they reach the cognitive dispositions and become expressed in words and ideas. Another factor is the loss of coherence in the association of ideas ; this and the clinical picture of mental confusion, so common in native schizophrenic patients, gives the impression of a condition which has its origin primarily in an organic disturbance.

All these differences favour the conclusion that whereas sociological factors may be predominant in the psychoneuroses, biological factors are the main considerations in the psychoses. There are undoubtedly contributions from both constitutional and experiential aspects, but clinical experience shows that the constitutional factors predominate, while the experiential factors merely colour the picture of the psychosis. The framework of the schizophrenic process is the same in both European and pagan native, except that the psychotic mental content differs according to the systems of belief and the general cultural patterns.

We cannot separate the distribution of *libido* from the adjustment of the individual, and we cannot separate the adjustment from the integration of the organic structure of the personality. Hence a defective integration or evolution in the organic plane must produce defective libidinal cathexis in object presentations during growth and development.

The careful study of the preadmission histories of schizophrenic patients shows a constant struggle between the biological foundations of the personality and the demands of the environment. If he is successful in meeting one demand, he invariably does so by sacrificing

several other components essential for his personality development towards a mature goal. And in whatever way we may look at this peculiar behaviour, we cannot ignore one essential aspect of his personality, namely that there is a paucity of energy at his disposal, which sooner or later facilitates regressive behaviour.

Psycho-analytic conceptions of the personality claim five levels of adjustment through which the individual must pass to attain adult adjustment to life and maturity of the personality. These are :

1. Auto-eroticism.
2. Narcissism.
3. Homo-eroticism.
4. Hetero-eroticism.
5. Reality.

The schizophrenic regressive picture will be better comprehended if we associate these psychological levels of development with layers of brain-cells, axones and synapses in the neo-pallial cerebral cortex in man. Rivers made a definite contribution towards this end when he wrote :

"It is now generally admitted that the nervous system, in so far as function is concerned, is arranged in a number of levels, one above another, forming a hierarchy in which each level controls those beneath and is itself controlled by those above it. If we assume a similar organization of unconscious experience, we should have a number of levels in which experience belonging to adult life would occupy a position higher than that taken by the experience of youth and that again will stand above the experience of childhood and infancy. A level of more recently acquired experience would control one going back to an earlier period of life and any intermediate level would control and be controlled according to its place in the time order in which it came into existence. . . . Much more important would be that character of the hierarchy according to which each level preserves in its mode of action characteristics of the mentality in which it had its origin. Thus the level of infancy would preserve the infantile methods of feeling, thinking and acting."¹

In keeping the regressive phenomena of the psychoses in mind, we feel there is some correlation between the contributions of such men as Freud, Rivers, von Economo, Shaw Bolton, Watson and Mott.

Berry gives an interesting resumé of the work on cyto-architectonics done by the English investigations and von Economo :

"Bolton described in 1912, the laminated manner of arrangement of the cortical brain cells into five layers. From his investigations of the

¹ *Psychology and Ethnology* by W. H. R. Rivers.

Mammalian cerebral cortex, Watson came to almost similar conclusions, but he pointed out that the Mammalian neopallial cerebral cortex is primarily built up on an infra-granular basis, that is of layers lying within or internal to Bolton's third layers ; ¹

and thus defective in the development of higher psychical functions.

Berry describes von Economo's work in 1929 on the cyto-architectonics of the human cerebral cortex. He claimed to have found a six-layered cortex, by adding a second granular layer to Bolton's second layer, as follows :

1. Molecular layer.
2. External granular layer of fine pyramidal cells.
3. Pyramidal cell lamina of numerous large pyramidal cells.
4. Internal granular layer.
5. Ganglionic layers of fine pyramidal cells.
6. Layers of fusiform cells.

Von Economo states that certain lamina are affected in some of the psychoses and added :

" In applying our present knowledge of cerebral cyto-architectonics to cerebral pathology, we must remember the following principles. The three chief forms of cells of the cortex, pyramidal, granular and fusiform, are arranged in horizontal layers. The cortex consists of six such lamina, each of which has probably a certain function in physiological activity of the grey matter." ²

These cellular layers may form the organic basis of Rivers' unconscious levels of experience.

" Correlating the facts with clinical conditions the Viennese and other continental schools find that mental disorder is rarely associated with area lesions, but shows a predilection for certain laminæ in one or other of the layers of the cortex." ³

Berry's reference to English work is of importance :

" It is now well-established that mental deficiency results from a lack of development of the cells of either or both of the pyramidal or fusiform cortical layers, with consequent diminution in their numbers, a disordered structure formation, a consequent microcephaly and disordered psychological reactions to the environment."

¹ *Cerebral Cortical Structure and Its Relation to Mental Disease*, by R. J. A. Berry, *Brit. Med. Journal*, May 16, 1931.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Cerebral Cortical Structure and Its Relation to Mental Disease*, by R. J. A. Berry, *Brit. Med. Journal*, May 16, 1931.

Again he writes :

"The agranular cortex, for example, shows no change in general paralysis, which chiefly attacks in the anterior frontal lobe of the brain and certain other sites. According to Jakob the majority of organic mental diseases do not attack areas of the brain, but show a widespread affection of the cortex with a predilection for certain regions. In dementia psychotic disturbances of the personality von Economo finds that the chief lesions are the third layers." . . . "Mental deficiency on the other hand does not result from dissolution of the brain cells as from their inherent inability to develop, many of them remaining in the neuroblastic condition."¹

Leland Hinsie refers to schizophrenic neuropathology as follows :

"There is little definite that can be said (Spielmeyer). Dunlap found no satisfactory evidence that these conditions of brain changes constitute a histological basis for the condition : "²

so that Spielmeyer and Dunlap have not found evidence to convince them of the neuropathology of schizophrenia. If they were looking for diseased areas, I doubt whether such pathology would be found.

Pende, of the Genoa School of Constitutional Medicine, believes that every form and function of any organ, tissue or cell is the result of at least six conditions :

1. The original and hereditary cellular autotonus of the tissue or organ, from which form and function may arise independently of any other regulating factor.
2. Hormonic influence.
3. Anabolic and catabolic neurovegetative influence.
4. The influence of blood crisis (especially through the ionic equilibrium).
5. Vascular and vasomotor influence.
6. Psychic influence.³

Any disharmony between these various systems will lead to constitutional imbalance and a consequent defect in the output and control of psychic energy or *libido*.

Pende states :

"The directive, unitary concept under which we can group a very large number of nervous and psychical constitutional anomalies is that

¹ *Cerebral Cortical Structure and Its Relation to Mental Disease*, by R. J. A. Berry, *Brit. Med. Journal*, May 16, 1931.

² *Syllabus of Psychiatry*, by Leland Hinsie.

³ *Constitutional Inadequacies*, by Nicola Pende.

of 'Ontogenetic Hypo-evolution' (occasionally also phylogenetic), that is, we explain the anomalies as effects of an insufficient development of this or that part or function of the system." . . .

He proceeds to mention under ontogenetic hypo-evolution the presence in the adult cerebral cortex of cells placed horizontally or obliquely with spindle-shaped protoplasm, a large vesicular nucleus and two processes that run parallel to the cerebral cortex. . . .

"These fetal cells are normally found in greater numbers in the cortex at about fourth or fifth month of fetal life, after which they gradually disappear until we no longer find them in the new-born child. Now these cells abound in the brains of idiots and epileptics, in cases of mongolism and in individuals suffering from juvenile paresis, congenital syphilis and schizophrenia. . . . We know that in the embryo or in the fetus the presence of nerve-cells with two or more nuclei is rare. Now we may find these cells in mongoloids, idiots and in persons suffering from schizophrenia (Dementia præcox)."¹

There has recently been another interesting contribution towards our knowledge of schizophrenia by Isidore Finkelman and W. Mary Stephens. A summary of their findings is as follows:

"The reactions to extreme cold of a group of 50 patients with hebephrenia dementia præcox were observed. The oxygen consumption rates, temperature readings, blood sugar determinations and pulse, respirations, shivering and other responses were noted before exposure, during exposure to water at 60° F. and during rest in bed after the bath. These reactions were compared with those observed in nonpsychotic subjects and in a group of chronic encephalitics exposed to the same experiential conditions.

The patients with dementia præcox react to cold as a group with a lower heat production than the normals. The drop in temperature in the schizophrenics was greater than the normals. In the normal subjects there occurs a creative hyperæmia, as evidenced by a drop in the inner temperature after emerging from the cold bath into warm surroundings. The inner temperature drops, the heat being conducted to the cooled body surface. This after-effect does not occur in dementia præcox as a group. Evidence is adduced that there is a physiological disturbance in the hypothalamus in schizophrenia." . . .

But they add:

. . . "There is one more possible localization of the deficiency in the mechanism of heat regulation and that is the cortical component.

¹ *Heat Regulations in Dementia Præcox. Reactions of Patients with Dementia Præcox to Cold*, by Isidore Finkelman and W. Mary Stephens in *The Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology*, April, 1936.

Pinkston, Bard and Rioch, reporting observations made on dogs and cats which survived the removal of portions of the fore brain by six weeks to twenty-eight months, could not decide whether there is a single centre responsible for heat regulation, but concluded that several levels of the nervous system including the cortical are necessary for normal temperature control . . . One might suppose that the disturbance in dementia præcox is in the association pathways that subserve heat regulations, that there is a dissociation between the feeling of cold which is a cortical function and the motor innervation for increasing the metabolism" ¹

These researches have produced evidence that some of the cells of the layers of the neopallial cerebral cortex may suffer from immaturity or defective development or hypo-evolution, and that the conduction of an impulse from one part of the brain to another may become impossible, or occur with great difficulty, so that the latest acquired parts of the cerebral cortex, especially those layers above the infra-granular layer, which are believed to be chiefly concerned with psychic functions, and which have functions integrated with perceptual consciousness, or in other words, the reality principle, may become disconnected from other functions of the cerebral cortex. Therefore the ego function of mind may find it difficult to externalize the *libido* in the form of interests and values.

If we assume that the cognitive dispositions of the mind are expressed through the highest layers in the neo-pallial cortex, and that the impulses of feeling coming from the thalamo-striate level must establish contact with these dispositions to co-ordinate the expression of mood and thought, then it is possible that defective function of intermediate layers may lead to the divorcement between mood and thought seen in schizophrenia.

Again, due to this resistance in the path of externalization of the *libido*, it may utilize lower levels of cerebral development integrated with more primitive levels of experience and give us the clinical picture of regression of the *libido*. I do not wish to give the impression that I am trying to interpret psychological experience in physical or biological terms. If I have given this impression I hasten to correct it. When I speak of mind or psychological experience in relation to cerebral structure, I conceive of the former as an enduring reality, having developed through the medium of cerebral structure, having

¹ *Heat Regulations in Dementia Præcox. Reactions of Patients with Dementia Præcox to Cold*, by Isidore Finkelman and W. Mary Stephens in *The Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology*, April, 1936.

become integrated with cerebral structure and manifesting in experience through the medium of cerebral structure. As J. S. Haldane says :

“ Not only is there a visible world of life, but also a visible psychological or spiritual world of interests and values. . . . This world, regarded as a perceived world, is thus a world of interests and values. It is only through interest that our perceived world is unified in perception and conscious action. Physical and biological interpretation are incapable by themselves of unifying it, as we find in our actual experience that it is unified.” ¹

If we accept that the “ Life Force ”, “ Energy ” or “ *Libido* ” is the same for all living matter, depending of course in the nature of its manifestation on the particular organization of the matter, then it is reasonable to expect that its manifestation, as we perceive it, will be defective if the organization of matter, through which it is expressing itself, is defective. Now if mind has developed by this integration of the life force or energy with living matter, and if its manifestations as mind can be perceived as interests, then these interests will be the direct result of the externalization of *libido* into the objective world and incorporating images of the external world into the psychical structure.

To my mind, the behaviour of the personality cannot be adequately comprehended in health and disease, especially in the field of mental disorders, if we ignore the concept of a soul as the core of psychical unity. Although medicine seems to accept interaction, especially in the oft-repeated statements that mind influences body and body influences mind, to my knowledge it has failed to give a coherent conception as to what this relationship is.

The views on this subject expressed by Professor McDougall are well supported by our clinical observations in the sphere of psychiatry. He states :

“ We may then describe a soul as a being that possesses, or is, the sum of definite capacities for psychical activity and psychophysical interaction, of which the most fundamental are :

1. The capacity of producing, in response to certain physical stimuli (the sensory processes of the brain) the whole range of sensation qualities in their whole range of intensities.
2. The capacity of responding to certain sensation-complexes with the production of meanings, as for example spatial meanings.

¹ *Gifford Lectures, Glasgow University*, by J. S. Haldane.

3. The capacity of responding to these sensations and these meanings with feeling and conation or effort, under the spur of which further meanings may be brought to consciousness in accordance with the laws of reproduction of similars and of reasoning.
4. The capacity of reacting upon the brain processes to modify their course in a way which we cannot clearly define, but which we may provisionally conceive as a process of guidance by which streams of nervous energy may be concentrated in a way that antagonizes the tendency of physical energy to dissipation and degradation.

These are the fundamental capacities of conscious activity that we may assign to the soul, and we may say that in the laws and uniformities that we can discover in these processes we may discern the laws or the nature of the soul ; and the view that the soul is this sum of psychical capacities we may express by saying that the soul is a psychic being.”¹

This psychical unity or soul must grow and develop as the brain and the physical organism grows and develops towards maturity. Professor McDougall goes on to state :

“ The soul is a system of capacities which are fully present as latent potentialities from the beginning of the individual's life ; and these potentialities are realized or brought into play only in proportion as the brain mechanisms become developed and specialized. The mental differences exhibited by any person at different stages of life would thus be wholly due to the developmental and degenerative changes of his brain structure. And it would follow also that the mental differences between one person and another may be, and presumably are, wholly conditioned by differences of brain structure.”¹

Hence a defect in the manifestation of *libido* (energy) as interests is logically dependent on obstruction in the medium through which it expresses itself, and this medium is what we call the soma, or the “organic background” on which Freud built his superstructure known as psycho-analysis.

As the personality grows, the ego as directing force of the mind, pushes the *libido* outwards towards the development of interests and values and to comply with the increasing complexity of environmental demands. But, as the *libido* in the pre-schizophrenic individual rises to higher spheres of psychic activity, it becomes integrated with and utilizes more complex levels of brain development, and it may encounter resistance in its course, due to the defective organization of matter in the form of hypo-evolution of brain cells, or imbalance between

¹ *Body and Mind*, by William McDougall.

various cellular layers, disturbing the reciprocal innervation between the contrasting functions of inhibition and excitation of the brain cells. As a result the progression of *libido* towards adult psychological maturity will be slow and its sojourn at any particular phase of personality-development will be prolonged, leading to fixations at auto-erotic, narcissistic and homo-erotic levels, as we so commonly see in the clinical pictures of this psychosis.

The hetero-erotic phase, for instance, will have an inadequate amount of *libido* for development, with resultant feelings of insecurity and a strong tendency for the personality to lean on the security of the Oedipus complex. What should in the ordinary course of events invest the objective world with *libido*, will, under these circumstances, require almost constant ego effort to build up interests in the outside or objective world. The tendency for the *libido* to regress will be against the natural urge of the ego to objectivate it, hence the ego will require to exercise constant effort to stem the back-flow as it were and propel the *libido* into higher levels of neuropsychic development in answer to the call of the external world.

A time occurs in the development and growth of the personality when the ego will find it increasingly difficult to overcome the resistance in the outward organic pathway of the *libido*. At this stage of the schizophrenic process, we usually observe jerky and spasmodic efforts at adjustment, interpolated with regressive relapses. The individual turns away from the hum-drum of life and seeks some quiet corner for himself and his thoughts, and he not infrequently at this stage presents a vacillating, puzzled, clinical picture. At last the *libido* rushes through lower organic levels and manifests itself as primitive forms of behaviour with compensatory wish-fulfilment and magical delusions of omnipotence.

If the resistance is not too great it may after a time—months or years—return and make attempts to reach higher forms of psychic integration, and so the ego will go on testing reality according to the organic level of integration which offers least resistance. Clinical psychiatry has ample evidence to show that the schizophrenic tests various levels of adjustment, until he finds a level of adjustment on which he can function more or less to his own satisfaction and which does not demand *libido* beyond the capacity of his psychophysical integration. Under such circumstances do we obtain prolonged remissive phases or cures.

Among those of European culture we find the level of adjustment

several niches below that which is expected of a person of his age and culture. The more complex his social environment the greater the gulf between his adjustment and the standards required by his social milieu. The less complex and the more simple and primitive his environment, the more satisfactory is his adjustment from the point of view of his social milieu. This is well illustrated by the almost undisturbed existence of the psychotic in the native kraals.

Let us consider the psychological regressive phenomena in a psychosis of the organic reactive type. For this purpose cerebral arteriosclerosis will serve as a good example. We must bear in mind that at the time of onset of this psychosis, the personality is fully matured in all respects. With the narrowing and hardening of the arteries comes defective nutrition of the brain cells leading to their dissolution with correlating impairment of mental functions, especially memory, comprehension, ability to concentrate, or sustained mental application. Concomitant with this progressive impairment comes emotional instability. As the higher psychic control and ability to apply the mind objectively diminishes, emotional instability increases, until regressive infantile emotional reactions and interests become the order of the day. A cerebral arteriosclerotic patient once remarked to me, "I feel as if there is a barrier across my mental pathway and in spite of my will there is a strong desire to be childish." These patients display a dread of mental infirmity during the early stages of this condition. It is as if the ego is aware of the limitation of his former sphere of activity and the growing incapacity of the organic structure by means of which he wants to externalize the *libido*, and, in consequence, reactive anxious depressions are common.

To the trained observer it is evident that the ego is making efforts to regain its former efficiency in psychological activity, but fails consistently, due to the increasing barrier of organic defect. As these higher functions in regard to objective libidinal relationships diminish, infantile forms of reactions make their appearance. The patient becomes childishly frightened, anxious, sulky, irritable, narcissistic with various auto-erotic components, and even his dreams resemble night terrors.

The behaviour of the *libido* follows the same law, with this difference in attitudes and mental content, that the cerebral arteriosclerotic patient was a mature integrated personality at the onset of his disorder, while the schizophrenic regression starts before this personality-maturity is reached, for it is always our experience that immaturity

and inadequacy are found in the pre-psychotic histories of the schizophrenic patients. On account of the prolonged sojourn of the schizophrenic at the infantile levels, his super-ego becomes saturated with parental dictates and fails to shed this dominance and fuse with the ego or ego ideal with the result that conflicts and guilts are always in evidence. Male native patients blame themselves for having slept with the *Mamlambo* or having committed sins against *Umdali* or the *Izinyanya*.

Another interesting point about the defective libidinal development shows that these patients, while at home, reacted to social interests as if they were being threatened by these social interests. The lack of *libido* may be responsible for this in so far as it prevented these patients from entering into relationships with and sharing in the emotions of group activities. The mythological beliefs of the pagan which condition him to have a narcissistic attitude towards his body and make him prone to transform thoughts and feelings into physical symptoms, heighten the narcissistic attitude in schizophrenia and other psychoses among the natives.

Although we can see the influence of the pagan culture in the psychotic picture as mental imagery and habits of thinking and acting, we see, beyond this, a struggle between a psychical unity and a defective organic structure and function. What we hear as his words, expressed in thoughts and ideas, and what we see as manifestations of his behaviour, are, to my mind but the results of psychical activity after it has traversed perhaps millions of neurones and nerve-cells.

In the one instance we have an impairment of memory as the result of structural defect, disease and dissolution of brain-cells, and in the other instance we find a memory defect due to the absence of the functioning of *libido* through certain levels of neural activity. In the latter respect it is frequently said that the schizophrenic does not remember because he is not interested. Therefore the schizophrenic's memory is selective and he remembers those things to which there is still some libidinal attachment. We can discern a difference in memory functions between the classical organic reactive psychoses and schizophrenia. In the organic reactive psychoses, where impairment of memory is usually a characteristic symptom, we have a definite neuropathology, in contrast to the many contradictory statements as to neuropathological findings in the brains of patients who suffered from schizophrenia during life. But neither the vagaries of schizophrenic neuropathology nor the definiteness of neuropathological

findings in the organic reactive psychoses, give any evidence for the employment of such terms as memory cells or ideas stored in brain cells.

Psychiatrists frequently quote cases of prolonged catatonic stupors from which the patients emerged having clear recollections of what transpired in their immediate surroundings during the stupor period. But we know of equally as many catatonic stupors from which the patients emerged having not the faintest recollection of what transpired during such periods. It all seems to depend on the depths to which the *libido* regresses, and further perhaps on the site and degree of the particular nature of the organic structural defect. We cannot explain memory functions, especially in relation to abstract objects, or time relations in terms of neurones linked in a particular manner, although clinical studies of "organic reactive psychoses", especially general paralysis of the insane, shows that memory can be affected in different ways, in fact, that there are two kinds of memory and that impairment is dependent on the severity and extent of the lesions. My personal observations of general paralytic patients before, during and after treatment with tryparsamide and fever therapy, have shown that rational speech and conduct with complete insight after treatment were frequently coupled with varying degrees of impairment of memory. And in these patients the memory impairment was limited to abstract objects and time relations, whereas the memory for school-learned and detailed knowledge was intact. This indicates that the higher neurogenic dispositions have become impaired as the result of the disease process, and that the corresponding psychical dispositions have been debarred from manifesting themselves in thoughts and words.

I observed at the same time, that patients of about the same age who had clinically similar pictures of mental impairment, would after treatment show great differences in the function of memory. One would have a marked impairment of memory while rational in thought content and conduct, while another who presented a similar clinical picture at the beginning of treatment had very little impairment. These observations on the memories of general paralytic patients were carried out over several years in the treatment of Europeans and Cape coloureds, and I came to the conclusion that although the clinical picture was the same at the beginning of the treatment, some of these patients had already structural defects at that stage, while others were suffering from functional disturbances of the nerve cells due to toxic processes. As soon as the activity of the disease process ceased, the

structural defect became apparent in the sequelae of memory impairment. Therefore where these were merely functional disturbances, the neurogenic strata could interact with the psychical dispositions immediately the organic functions were restored.

Professor McDougall defines memory as of two kinds, namely that which is dependent on habit and that which is dependent on meaning.

“The sensory content, a complex of sensations or of images or of both is essentially the expression of psycho-physical interaction. The idea, as a compound of sensory content and meaning does not continue to exist as such in the interval between its acquisition and its reproduction. . . . Neural associations or habits may so link groups of sensory elements of the brain as to lead to successive revival of the corresponding sensory complexes. . . . On the other hand in so far as each sensory complex has evoked meaning in the past, it tends to revive it upon its reproduction and thus to reinstate the idea in consciousness. This is the process of evocation of an idea from the neural side. It plays only a subordinate part in the higher processes of remembering. These are determined mainly from the psychical side. What, then, is it that persists in the psychical realm? Shall we say it is the meanings themselves? Clearly they do not persist as facts of consciousness. But the development of the mind from infancy onwards consists largely in the development of capacities for ideas or thoughts of richer, fuller, more abstract and more general meanings. If then meanings have no immediate physical correlates or counterparts in the brain, and if the meanings themselves do not persist, we must suppose that the persistent conditions of meanings are psychical dispositions.”¹

We find in the regression of *libido* in the psychoses that it is exactly this function of psychical dispositions or “meanings” that become lost in the psychotic process. The meanings of things that lead to the coherency of thought disappear and we observe this, not only in schizophrenia, but also in the organic reactive psychoses. Again, in mental deficiency we find a defective grasping of meanings, especially when they pass beyond the range of simple associations and simple ideas. Indeed the mentally defective’s mind operates on the plane of habit.

Now these psychical dispositions are built up in the course of experience from infancy and are dependent on the development of capacities for ideas or thoughts and therewith general mental adaptability to new problems presented by the environment. We know that in mental deficiency we have an arrested development of these

¹ *Body and Mind*, by William McDougall.

“capacities for ideas and thoughts”. We know that we have an arrested development for mental adaptability and we know that mental deficiency has a definite organic basis of defective brain-cell development, so that we must conclude from our knowledge of mental deficiency that, with defective development of neural dispositions and brain cells, is coupled defective development of psychical dispositions.

In the case of the patient who suffered from General Paralysis of the Insane and who recovered with treatment, it can be assumed that the psychical dispositions built up during his pre-psychotic life were always ready to be brought into activity in the nature of rational thought and memory function, once the neural dispositions were sufficiently recovered to co-operate with the psychical dispositions.

These deductions based on the behaviour of the *libido* as a manifestation of “Life Force” and the neuropathological findings in certain mental conditions, support the conception that the personality has a core of psychical unity or a soul. To my mind the phenomena of life conform to a unity and the perception of physical bodies with spatial limitations is but an appearance and not a reality. It seems that in the development of consciousness and self-consciousness, this psychical unity has to grow up, so to speak, in an organic medium to take up external relationships and develop self-consciousness, and that it can only develop self-consciousness when endowed with an organization of matter known as a physical organism, with which it has to become integrated to function as a human personality. In consequence, man’s self-conscious experience can only begin once he establishes relationship with the outer world.

From my experience of psychopathological conditions it appears to me that memory cannot be registered in the physical organism, although it has developed or come into existence through the medium of perceptive mechanisms belonging to the physical organism, so that it must be recorded in the psychical unity. The body can serve only as a perceptive mechanism bound by the numerous limitations to which body is heir.

I have been speaking of *libido*, energy and life force, but I do not mean *libido* in a psycho-analytic sense, namely, that all *libido* is sexual in origin. I feel that sexual *libido* is but a manifestation of this life force, because I view this life force as the basis of matter; furthermore, that in the course of creative evolution it has become condensed into states of density perceived as matter and thereby has attained objective form or has become ultimated in organic forms.

This life force is the co-ordinating principle in organic life; matter and energy as perceived by us must be constituents or manifestations of this life force. The phenomena of life as we perceive it, are determined by the physical conditions of the soma. Matter is thus the external expression of this life force, within which molecules of organic life obey the law of attraction and repulsion in a manner identical with chemical affinity. This life, the manifestation of which we see all around us, is therefore a positive force around which the molecules of matter become organized, in a similar manner as electrons become organized around the central core or proton positively charged.

How do we know there is not some form of nascent consciousness in lower organisms or molecules of organic matter? This consciousness may be purely internal, and only become apparent to us when the organism begins to take up external relations and unfold its consciousness, so that what is a manifestation of life in organic matter may be merely energy in other forms of matter.

The behaviour of the electrons and protons in the atom is a manifestation of energy, and energy is a manifestation of life. Now if we extend this view a little further, and we accept that space is occupied by ether and that ether consists of electrons and protons in motion, we must conclude that space is occupied by life. Therefore what we see as an independent body existing in space is but a particular organization of matter around some central core of life or energy, so that there must be negative and positive atoms of life and these negative atoms of life combine and become organized about some positive life force. In fact, the coming into existence of organic life must follow such a plan of organization.

In the human being, our chief consideration here, the nascent state of the psyche, must come into existence simultaneously with the first signs of life in the cell, and as the physical organization and evolution of the organism proceeds, so the psychic organization and evolution of the psyche proceeds. It grows and develops by accretions of experience through the external mechanisms of perception belonging to the soma and takes up its external relations by such means, indeed a dual unity. We can then say that the psyche is a manifestation of this life force, an organization of psychical units expressing this life force, and that the body is a necessary component of this life current, the one positive and the other negative, as if matter, as negative elements, has some special and powerful urge to be attracted to this positive life force.

This life force can be considered to be electro-magnetic in nature and therefore identical with the relationship that exists between magnetism and electricity. The manifestation of these various forms of energy is dependent on the particular organization of the matter through which it is expressed. If we bring a magnet near a needle, the needle will begin to show minute movements, and if we bring the magnet still nearer, the needle will jump at it and adhere to it, as long as the magnetism lasts. This behaviour of the needle towards the magnet depends on the presence of electrons and protons, and can be taken as an illustration of what occurs between the constituents of matter, or negative life elements, and the positive life force.

When we reduce any object in the universe to its basic constituents, we can only reduce it to energy and we will discover that the object is merely an appearance depending on the organization of matter. But there are organizations which are inorganic; others are organic expressing energy in conscious and self-conscious forms, and so, from the stage of organization of organic matter, we enter a phase of evolution, until we reach the organization of invisible psychical units into a psychical unity or soul, which develops from a nascent state, by the development and accretions of experience, to a central life force or positive core.

No one will deny the existence or reality of energy where its manifestations can be observed, although the energy itself is invisible to perception. The application of reality to the concept psychical unity or soul is thus not only rational but logical. The psychological mechanisms and structure known to us as mind, must be those which are built up from experience by means of external relations due to self-consciousness and thus form the outer layers of this inner psychical unity or soul; and this psychological aspect of the human personality is entirely dependent in its manifestation on the organization and evolution of organic elements. Any inadequacy in the organization of the organic structure, especially that part of the organism serving as the brain mechanism for the expression of psychic function, will appear as inadequacies in the process of adaptation and the externalization of *libido*. Again, a disorganization in this organic structure will give a disorganized appearance in mental functions. These are facts which we daily observe in the organic reactive psychoses. The only difference between these and schizophrenia lies in the fact that schizophrenic psychic activities are based on defective integration.

The relationship between the organism and the outer world of

perception is determined by biological factors which disturb the integrity of the development of higher levels of experience and the strength of the psychic energy available at these levels for mature adaptations to life's needs. In the latter category will fall that class of psychopathological conditions known as the psychoneuroses, but even in this latter group we discern some irregularity or basic instability in the natural or instinctive forces which are biologically determined. It is the average experience of psychiatrists that after the psychoneurotic patient has rid himself of the morbid façade, there still remains a substrata of constitutional instability, although the patient may make a fairly mature adaptation to life's problems. From this we may conclude that the peculiarity of the soma, especially the slightest imbalance in the autonomic nervous system, may produce tensions or needs, for underneath the psychoneurotic superstructure there frequently appears a "something" which makes the person more prone to react in a particular manner to certain experiences in life or to certain stimulations coming from the environment.

It is not at all unusual to come across psychoneurosis in the family of a psychotic patient or families heavily tainted with psychoses. Therefore the psychoneurosis and the degree of its manifestation may be determined by the genotype and environmental factors, and our psychotherapeutic successes may be dependent on the predominance of environmental factors. We may go so far as to say that psychotherapeutic success will depend on the resistance within the reach of therapeutic modifiability and where this cannot be attained the resistance may have its origin in determinants inherent in the germ-plasm.

The improvements that occur in the lives of our native schizophrenic patients are not due to any therapeutic measure; they seem to occur entirely of their own accord. It may be that the segregation of the patient and the ordered routine of a hospital has something to do with this change, but the clinical picture during the remissive phase, especially the expression of the affective components of the personality, shows that the patient has reached a level of security or equilibrium. Affectively there is a dull, apathetic film over his psychic life and he has ceased to try to reach beyond his constitutional capacity level. In this state of mind he makes a contented adjustment to life in the territories. Schizophrenics are rarely if ever readmitted to the hospital.

The total male and female admissions and discharges for the last ten years are as follows :

Female admissions	419
Females discharged as recovered, relieved or improved	144
giving a recovery or remissive rate of 36.6 per cent.	
Male admissions	670
Males discharged as recovered, relieved or improved	225
giving a recovery or remissive rate of 33.5 per cent.	

The predominance of male admissions over female admissions is due to the fact that the males are more migratory and thus more frequently come in contact with urban conditions or European habitations.

The satisfactory adjustment of the native schizophrenic outside the hospital depends to a large extent on the nature of his social environment; also it is equally the nature of this social environment which gives the impression that mental disorder is rare among primitive races. Nevertheless, there is a lesson to be learned from this primitive culture and its psychotic members, namely that the degree of adjustability of a schizophrenic in a remissive phase depends on the demands which are made on his energy capacity as well as the nature of his cultural pattern. We may conclude from this that the number of schizophrenics who can live in the community will depend on the complexity of the industrial development and the social demands of the community.

Since the social environment of the native schizophrenic patient is conducive to his satisfactory adaptation, it must have fewer provocative factors for precipitating a psychosis than European culture. But if, in spite of these favourable social factors, schizophrenia is prevalent, then we must conclude that far too much emphasis has been laid on environment in our thinking about schizophrenia and that by so doing we have paid insufficient attention to constitutional factors. It seems as if there is a fear abroad that emphasis on constitutional determinants will lessen the claims of prevention.

We, of course, recognize that there is a tendency in certain quarters to be over-optimistic in stressing the possibilities of prevention, as if the acceptance of an organic or constitutional basis will upset the satisfying psychological structures that have been built up around schizophrenia; but if we view life as a positive force, expressing itself through organic structure, and maintain that the personality is a product of integrated activity co-ordinated by this positive force, according to the nature of the organization of matter, then we must feel that our investigations are not limited to an appearance, but to the seeking of the reality obscured by this appearance.

CHAPTER XI

SEXUAL OFFENCES

THE commission of sadistic sexual acts on European women by detribalized natives living in towns led me to enquire into the frequency of the occurrences of sexual offences in the native territories. For this purpose I addressed a questionnaire to nineteen magistrates in the native territories. The replies received will be submitted *seriatim* under each heading or question as follows :

Question :

Do the following crimes occur among natives ?

(a) Homosexualism (some form of sexual relation among members of the same sex).

Replies :

1. No.
2. Have never come across this and can get no information on this point. I very much doubt if it does occur at all.
3. Does not occur.
4. No cases have come to notice. If they do occur they are extremely rare amongst natives living in the rural areas of these territories. The moral code of the native creates very little necessity for the commission of this crime. It is the recognized feature of their life that each married person has a paramour or concubine and is able thus to satisfy his sexual desires. Among the young people the custom of *metsha* also has this effect.
5. Unknown, but is supposed to be prevalent in the mine native compounds.
6. No instances are known.
7. This is unknown among the tribes in the Transkei.
8. As far as I am aware, no form of homosexualism is practised by natives in this district and if cases occur they are very rare and have not come to my knowledge.

9. This is practically unheard of in native locations.

10. Not known in this district. No cases have been recorded in this court, but prevalent on the mines especially among East Coast natives.

11. Not known. Must be rare in this district.

12. No cases known over the past 30 years.

13. No.

14. No.

15. This is only heard of on the mines and in prisons among male natives.

16. Not to my knowledge among local Fingoes, but reported to be common on the mines among natives from Portuguese territories ; often result in affrays.

17. Do not occur.

18. Does occur in prisons among male natives.

19. No records in this court of such cases.

It would appear from these replies that homosexual acts are extremely rare among these rural natives. The magistrates have largely based their opinions on the absence of such crimes from the court records. It stands to reason that a homosexual liaison between two males will be kept secret and it is only when such an overt act is committed without the consent of the other party that the case may appear before the court. Chief Velelo states he has heard of such relationships between men but they were considered not sane or otherwise bewitched. In any case he considers it very rare, unless the native is segregated from women. The prevalence of homosexual activities among hospital material may depend not only on segregation but regressive phenomena due to the psychosis or defect. Again, the force of the phallic cult in their culture makes sexual satisfaction a dire necessity.

Question :

(b) Transvestism (men dressed in women's clothing or vice versa, masquerading as one or other sex).

Replies :

1. No cases on record.

2. Does not occur to my knowledge.

3. Unknown in these areas.

4. This is very rare. In my experience of forty years only one

case has come to my notice where a man habitually wore women's clothing, but there was no evidence to show that he did so for any sexual reason.

5. Unknown.

6. Occasionally young boys are seen wearing women's clothing but it is rare.

7. Not heard of in these territories.

8. I know of no case of transvestism occurring in this district.

9. This is not done in native territories.

10. Two cases known of women dressed as men, but none of men dressed as women. One woman in this district is still known to habitually dress as a man.

11. Nil.

12. During past 30 years only one case of a youth of seventeen masquerading in women's clothing has been brought to notice.

13. None.

14. No.

15. Not known in this district except in one case where an escaped prisoner wore women's clothing to dodge the police.

16. Not to my knowledge.

17. Does not occur.

18. Rare.

19. Not known.

Transvestism is a psychopathological condition or perversion and has a narcissistic or homosexual basis. In male transvestites it appears that there is an identification with the mother. One such case investigated in a European, clearly showed this. In any case its essential determinant is identification with a woman. The occurrence of transvestism among female natives, though rare, supports the deductions made under mythology and can be considered as a form of penis envy. In this respect it seems rational to assume that the penis envy is displaced to masculine forms of dress. Transvestites are usually considered by other natives to be bewitched.

The compensations the native female obtains from her belief in the *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka* are evidently inadequate in the narcissistic regression of the transvestite. Under such circumstances the regressive trends which lead to transvestism must indeed be profound, if the person can display the courage to wear men's attire in spite of being considered bewitched. In my opinion the rarity of

transvestism in this culture is due to the compensations provided by the beliefs in the *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka*.

Question :

(c) Indecent exposure (exhibitionism).

Replies :

1. No cases on record.
2. No, not from the native's standpoint.
3. Occasionally I have observed this, but usually only under the influence of alcohol. (Removal of *isidla*.) Uncircumcised boys expose themselves to girls as a form of showing off.
4. Does not occur.
5. Among pagan natives it is a common occurrence for men to discard their clothing (not *isidla*) in the presence of women when at work. Cases of exposure of the body to create sexual desire are rare.
6. Unknown.
7. Uncircumcised boys do to a certain extent to girls, but practice is not general.
8. Unknown in the Transkei.
9. Cases have occurred in this district but it is rare.
10. Never heard of any.
11. Unknown in this district.
12. Nil.
13. None brought to notice during past 30 years.
14. No.
15. No.
16. No cases reported.
17. Not to my knowledge.
18. Never known to occur.
19. Rare save in senility.

Chief Velelo states cases have occurred in his domain and were brought to his notice, where men have removed their *isidla* to women passing by, but have otherwise done nothing to the women. He considers that such occurrences are rare and to his knowledge they were old men.

I personally know of several cases in cities where natives have exposed themselves to European women. These natives might have been detribalized and uncircumcised, because I consider that to the native's unconscious mind circumcision and castration are synonymous.

Hence the rarity of exhibitionism, namely, removal of the *isidla* among pagan natives.

Exhibitionism as an attempt to overcome the fear of castration is shown by the fact that it is practised as "showing off" by uncircumcised youths and further that castration fears are unknown among the schizophrenic circumcised male native patients. The class of old men who expose themselves are undoubtedly cases of organic brain deterioration. Exposure of the genitals to the European nursing staff by female native patients is not uncommon and it is of interest that two of these habitual exhibitionists among the female patients both claim they have penises and are men.

Question :

(d) Voyeurs (Peeping Toms, who satisfy sexual desires by contemplation of naked women).

Replies :

1. Found only among natives in European employment.
2. Never known to occur.
3. Not to my knowledge.
4. No cases reported.
5. No, this is no doubt due to the fact that the native is brought up in a state of nudism.
6. None.
7. Unknown in this district.
8. Nil.
9. Unknown in this district.
10. This is sometimes done by young men who keep out of sight when girls are bathing; this is more out of curiosity and not to satisfy sexual desires.
11. Cases of this nature have not come to my knowledge and I should say are very rare if they occur at all. Sexual desires among natives are very easily gratified.
12. No cases known.
13. Unknown.
14. Have been known to precede rape.
15. Not existent as far as I know.
16. Does not occur.
17. Not to my knowledge. Nakedness means nothing to the native.

18. No.

19. No cases on record.

My personal experience of European voyeurs who come before the court has shown that the main determinants were trying to recapture the eroticism of some childhood sexual scene witnessed, or the peeping as result of childish curiosity to see what women's genitals were like. Castration fears may underlie this ; nevertheless the outstanding factor is the fixation on some childhood experience. A contributing factor in European culture is the secrecy about sex and the coverings of the body, stimulating further curiosity after a primal scene and its erotic excitation.

Among the natives we have no such prohibitions, especially the semi-nudity of the body and the exposure of the genitals without any covering in children of both sexes. Then there is the *Abakweta* ceremony, removing the castration fears by its circumcision rite.

It is said that voyeurism among natives in European employ has usually preceded attempts at rape. Under such circumstances the peeping is not true voyeurism but rather an attempt to contemplate the person with whom he desires to have carnal knowledge.

Question :

(e) Sodomy (unnatural sexual acts with animals).

Replies :

1. Rather rare. One case only in this district in last ten years.
2. Is committed, but not of frequent occurrence. Usually with cattle, horses or goats.
3. Not to my knowledge.
4. No case reported.
5. No.
6. I know of only one case, which I tried.
7. The only case of bestiality brought to my notice was one of a young native and a female goat which occurred a number of years ago.
8. I know of attempted sodomy with horses.
9. Only one case of unnatural intercourse with a sheep.
10. This is practically unheard of.
11. It is not clear what is required here, as unnatural sexual acts with animals are classified under the heading "Bestiality". Cases

of sodomy are very rare and no case of this nature has come before this court during the past twelve months. Cases of bestiality too are very rare and I have never heard of adult natives being responsible. In very isolated cases I have heard of small boys committing or attempting to commit unnatural actions on pigs, but these I consider have been done more as a joke than satisfying of desire.

12. This offence is extremely rare. Only one case in sixteen years can be called to mind.

13. Not known. Native custom deals severely with such cases.

14. Very uncommon (a few isolated cases).

15. Only one case has come to notice some years ago. The animal was a goat. This is very rare and looked upon with abhorrence.

16. Very rare, but cases known in my experience of sexual acts with horses and donkeys.

17. Is supposed to occur among young boys with sheep and goats.

18. Very seldom; unable to give particulars; appears to be associated with the practices of witchcraft.

19. No cases on record.

Some of the magistrates have confused "sodomy" with "pederasty", although this did not affect the information. We observe that sodomy, in comparison with the other perversities, is not so rare and is largely limited to boys. My personal investigations in many parts of the native territories have brought to light that unnatural sexual acts with animals are extremely common and are not considered as anything but naughtiness in the uncircumcised, and are usually punished with a whipping. But, should such an act be committed by an adult or a circumcised native, the matter is viewed with abhorrence and the person is considered to be under the influence of witchcraft. In my opinion, those who are caught and brought before the court are either in the employ of Europeans or are otherwise feeble-minded. Chief Velelo endorses my findings that sexual acts with animals are quite commonly committed by boys, especially the groups of boys spending days in the veld herding the cattle, sheep and goats.

Question :

(f) Incest (if rare, give reasons why).

Replies :

1. No cases on record. Natives in this district are very careful in this respect, and it is seldom that it occurs among the tribes in this district as it is against all their native laws and customs.
2. Very rare. Under native law the severest penalties were inflicted, ostracism and even death. The forbidden degree of relationship is invariably scrupulously adhered to.
3. Doubtful if this ever occurs except accidentally. A man may marry his half-sister unknowingly.
4. Incest, though by no means of common occurrence, does take place among natives who have become moral perverts and who have cast aside their moral inhibitions. Tribal customs regard this offence very seriously and in former times the punishment was death. The prohibited degrees extended to relationships by affinity as well as consanguinity and this prohibition is still generally observed.
5. Rare. The cohabitation of persons related in the slightest ties of blood is looked upon with abhorrence and is not indulged in.
6. Very rare.
7. Unknown. Native custom is intensely opposed.
8. This offence is very rare. Each location has a number of widows and concubines. A native male does not lose caste by such casual cohabitation.
9. Cases of incest are very rare.
10. This is unheard of. Natives won't marry if there is any relationship.
11. Unknown in this district, for it is strictly taboo for relatives to marry.
12. Nil. Such persons are looked upon as witches.
13. Two cases have come before the court in the past ten years. This crime is viewed with horror by the natives and is very rare.
14. It is very rare, and repugnant to the native.
15. Unknown. Considered a very serious crime.
16. Very rare. Looked upon as monstrous.
17. Proper incest is rare. I know of one case and he was insane.
18. Of very rare occurrence. Is considered a degrading and shameful offence.
19. Incestuous relationships occur among juveniles.

It will be remembered that any sexual relations falling within the incest taboo, that is, first cousins on the father's side and nearer

relatives, are considered as incestuous, and this is understood by Europeans to include all blood relationships. In view of the very definite incest taboo in relation to the mother class or wives, as is shown by the taboos of the *Abakweta* ceremony and the horror with which sexual relations are viewed between a wife and an uncircumcised native, we can appreciate that incest between parent and child or brother and sister, must be rare. I consider that these cases, when they occur, are committed by psychotic persons. The fact that the natives consider such persons as witches or bewitched shows that they must be viewed as mentally disordered or profoundly feeble-minded, since incest can only occur as result of profound regressive phenomena originating in the Oedipus complex. We have observed that this culture makes some very definite ritualistic attempts to deal with the Oedipus complex.

Question :

(g) Rape.

Replies :

1. True rape is rarely found and more rarely proved.
2. Rape is committed, but not many cases in proportion to the population.
3. Rape when it occurs is accompanied by acts of violence in this district. Average is about one case a year in a population of 40,000.
4. Rape is committed from time to time, but may be stated to be infrequent in considering the population.
5. Not at all common, because the present penalty is heavy and even native law demands severe compensation.
6. Cases are not infrequently brought to court.
7. Is not common.
8. Not uncommon ; sexual control is not of a high order.
9. I cannot say that rape is common ; an average of from two to three cases are brought before the court annually in a population of 60,000.
10. Cases of rape are frequently brought before the court, but in many instances the woman has been caught in the act of allowing the man to have connection with her and to save herself from the wrath of husband or relatives accuses the man of raping her.
11. Isolated cases of rape do occur but are rare and during the last twelve months we have had no such case in court here.

12. Genuine cases of rape are infrequent.
13. Cases occur occasionally.
14. A common crime if judged by number of complaints.
15. Comparatively rare. In five years some seven males have been convicted. It sometimes happens that where *metsha* is being indulged in the male loses control of himself. I think the consensus of opinion is that many of the so-called rapes are in the first instance the result of consent on the part of the female who, in the fear of discovery, suddenly resists and calls for assistance.
16. Fairly common. In my opinion this is to some extent due to the fact that natives generally have not yet emerged from that phase where the male considers force a legitimate means of conducting his amours.
17. In my opinion never occurs, but is only a matter of being found out when the woman alleges rape in defence of herself.
18. Becoming more common, but it is thought that courts often punish as rape intercourse which under native custom is not a crime.
19. Very few cases on record.

I then circularized the magistrates to ascertain whether it is not possible that cases of rape are settled among the people themselves, by means of compensation, and not brought to court. The replies were as follows :

1. Yes, probable in a certain number of cases.
2. Yes, cases of rape are sometimes regarded as *twala* (kidnapping) of an aggravated nature and are settled as such among the parents.
3. It is possible that an isolated case may be settled by payment of compensation, but as a rule such cases are not rape in the true sense of the word.
4. Yes, there may be such cases and kept secret.
5. Such cases are very rare.
6. Quite possible, but no evidence that it does occur.
7. I do not think cases of rape are settled by the people themselves, as this crime is looked upon by the natives as serious.
8. Rape cases are always brought to court. In very rare instances are they settled by payment of compensation.
9. Very few cases.
10. No genuine case of rape would be so treated.
11. Very few cases of rape come before this court. It is considered that a large number are settled among the natives themselves.

12. Genuine rape cases are rare. Of the rape cases brought before the court in only a small percentage are convictions obtained. In most cases it is a genuine case of seduction, but because the man cannot pay the damages demanded, a case of rape is preferred against him. I think that all genuine cases of rape are reported to the police.

13. No, because rape amongst the natives is not prevalent. Very often a crime of rape is alleged by a woman who has in fact been a consenting party, but when caught she alleges rape. Unfortunately cases are not uncommon where payment of damages for adultery or seduction is not made and to get even with the culprit, rape is alleged.

14. Yes, I think it quite possible that rape cases are settled amongst the people themselves by payment of compensation. I referred this question to the district commandant of the police, who states that it has been experienced that in some cases of rape the matter has only been reported to the police because the accused person has failed to pay the compensation asked for.

15. I have not heard of cases of rape being settled by the people themselves. Rape is viewed in a serious light.

16. Very probably native custom provides for compensation in the cases of abduction, seduction or adultery.

A study of the opinions expressed by these magistrates brings to light two central points of primary importance. These are :

(a) Genuine rape.

(b) Alleged rape.

Now, my enquiries were not only confined to magistrates but included interviews with police, headmen, chiefs and their councillors and other elders of the tribe. The information obtained from these many sources shows that genuine cases of rape are rare among the natives and that the many complaints laid before the police arise from ulterior motives, refusal to pay compensation in *ukutwala* without consent of parents, or fear of exposure where a woman or girl has been seen or caught in compromising positions. According to police officers in native territories, rape is frequently alleged after sexual connection with consent, if the woman or girl becomes afraid of impregnation. The consent for intercourse is given on the understanding that coitus interruptus is to be employed, and where the male partner fails to carry out this promise, the woman, to safeguard herself, lays a charge of rape.

It is said that many alleged cases of rape are cases of *metsha* with consent. Now, it is not uncommon for girls to *metsha* for presents, money or tobacco. The very customary practice of *metsha* shows that this culture makes provisions for sexual gratification and this form of gratification, I think, solely concerns the male. Therefore, as long as he obtains gratification, it matters little whether it is by pseudo-sexual means or by genuine sexual intercourse. The frequency of overt homosexual acts of this nature among natives segregated from their womenfolk supports the view that the relieving of sexual tensions is the prime consideration. There is thus no sublimation of the sexual impulse into other spheres of activities apart from *metsha*, which is merely a partial inhibition, providing erotic pleasure by a diversion of the natural sexual impulse into a pseudo-sexual act. *Metsha* is thus a compromise with the tribal moral conscience, but not sublimation in the true sense of the word, although to perform this act requires inhibition from both the male and the female.

As far as I can discover, it appears that apart from husbands and wives, men and their customary concubines, all other sexual acts are first preceded by the request for *metsha* and that *metsha* may automatically merge into the natural sexual act, without the woman explicitly expressing consent for sexual intercourse. The lowering of inhibitions is under such circumstances mutual. If the man in such a case defaults in his promises, it is not infrequent that a charge of rape is laid against him.

Where tribal law and tradition hold sway, acts of illicit sexual intercourse by force or violence are viewed with a great deal of disapproval, since the kraal views the chastity of its womenfolk not from the point of morality *per se* but from the point of view of their *lobola* and compensatory values. For the native to infringe these tribal traditions by acts of violence, that is, overpowering the female and raping her, in the true sense of the word, is to call upon his head the anger of the whole community, and if there is one powerful social inhibitory force in this culture then it is the fear of insecurity, the fear of having his own people turn against him. Therefore, in spite of his strong and instinctive need for sexual gratification, he rarely oversteps the bounds allowed by custom and in consequence genuine cases of rape are rare. I have pointed out elsewhere in this book that when it comes to considering whether a man is guilty of defloration of a virgin, it is the word of the girl that weighs most. As a result of this attitude towards sexual acts the women readily lay a charge of

rape, knowing that the man's objections are in the majority of cases overruled.

Again, seeing that sexual desires are easily gratified in this culture, without any damage to the chastity of the female, and further that mere gratification is the main desire of the male, and that this is usually provided by *metsha*, rape with violence must fall into a category of special interest to psychiatry. It is well-known that sadistic biting commonly occurs in genuine cases of rape, and this is equally common in normal sexual intercourse and is said to be as frequently committed by women as by men. Therefore, on the whole, the occurrence of biting during the sexual act is not considered as abnormal by the native. This selfsame oral sadism is seen in fights between patients and is almost a normal component of the fighting propensity among natives. Where, therefore, biting is alleged as a sign of violence in the performance of the act of rape, the evidence should be carefully examined, especially where this is the only form of violence alleged, for it might equally well be a component in a sexual act with consent.

The question now arises: what sort of people are those, apart from being under the influence of alcohol, who commit rape with violence or assault women sexually? The chiefs and elders give interesting opinions having a bearing on this type of crime. They say that it is frequently a man with whom the girls refuse to *metsha*. I consider this is of great psychiatric importance. Now girls will only avoid a male if there is something queer about that male, perhaps stories that he has been bewitched or that he is not mature enough to be initiated into manhood: something in his conduct or personality which does not earn for him the admiration of the females. A number of psychopathological cases charged with rape relate that the girls did not want to *metsha* with them. These statements by the mental patients, coupled with the opinions of the elders of the kraals, strongly suggest that mental abnormality may be a serious factor in the commission of genuine rape. Psychiatric examination of natives in the territories is rare, unless the conduct displayed by the person is of such an overtly irrational nature that it is easily recognized by lay observers. The magistrates cannot be blamed for this, since they can only judge the accused according to the evidence before them and the knowledge at their disposal, which in any case cannot be of such a nature as to make a psychiatric diagnosis possible.

The following patients were admitted to the mental hospital during the period of twelve years, charged with genuine rape:

Feeble-minded persons	5
Epileptics	3
Schizophrenics	6
Psychosis with psychopathic personality	1
Traumatic psychosis (depressed fracture)	1
Cerebral arteriosclerosis	2
	<hr/>
	18
	<hr/>

Of this feeble-minded group one was circumcised ; of the epileptics one was circumcised ; of the schizophrenics two were circumcised. In spite of the small number of cases studied personally, evidence assembled having a bearing on rape leads me to form the opinion that psychopathological factors must always be considered in cases of genuine rape.

Question :

(h) Sexual offences against children.

Replies :

1. It is very seldom that cases of this nature occur. The Bacas and Hlangwinis consider it is a disgrace since there are numbers of young women, and therefore children are seldom interfered with.
2. Not common.
3. Several cases have occurred, but reasons cannot be ascertained.
4. Fairly common among natives in early stages of manhood.
5. Rare.
6. Common crime.
7. Unknown.
8. A number of these cases occur each year.
9. Sexual offences against children do occur but are very rare, and during the last twelve months we have had no such case in court.
10. There have been cases of this nature but they are very rare. In most cases the man is feeble-minded.
11. Uncommon, but cases have been known.
12. Very rare.
13. Extremely rare.
14. Occasionally—usually rape or indecent assault.
15. No.
16. Yes, but rare.
17. A girl who has menstruated is not regarded as a child and intercourse with her without penetration (*metsha*) is common. Rare

cases have occurred where sexual offences have been committed against children under twelve years.

18. Do not often occur. In my experience offenders are men of advanced age.

19. Yes, offenders usually senile with prostatic enlargement.

The replies 4, 10, 18 and 19 give a fairly adequate explanation for the occurrence of offences of this nature. Of course, we have no evidence about these personalities who came before the court charged with sexual offences against children, but replies 4 and 10 broadly place them within the category of the feeble-minded group. The reasons given under rape equally apply here in so far that the girls who have developed secondary sexual characteristics prefer not to *metsha* with these young men. This group considered as feeble-minded by the magistrates may include schizophrenics, where overt forms of mental disorder are not prominent. Replies 18 and 19 comprise the senile and arterio-sclerotic group among whom offences against children of a sexual nature are well-known in forensic psychiatry.

The true pædophilic type where the child or adolescent is sought as a sexual object and which is decidedly homosexual in nature, does not seem to occur from the meagre evidence at our disposal. It rather seems that some insecure and immature individuals, as well as those suffering from brain changes involving impairment of judgment and self-control, are prone to commit these offences in this culture.

Question :

(i) Do cases occur of biting, beating, stabbing or other physical injury during the sexual act? . . . during rape?

Replies :

1. Yes, biting very common.
2. Yes. Injuries of this nature are inflicted if woman struggles.
3. Yes, threats, biting or other injuries usually accompany these acts.
4. Yes, these acts are not uncommon.
5. Not in my experience.
6. Yes, woman often bites in self-defence.
7. Only in the course of resistance as far as I know.
8. No.
9. Never heard of in this district.

10. In genuine cases of rape there may be beating and biting. Stabbing rare.

11. I have heard of cases of biting occurring during the act of rape and also of women being severely and brutally handled, but in such cases the offenders have in all probability been temporarily insane.

12. No cases of this nature have occurred.

13. Several instances of biting have occurred when the man was impotent during the act of rape.

14. Yes.

15. No cases of biting or stabbing during rape have come before the court.

16. Unknown.

17. Not to my knowledge.

18. Yes, always to overcome resistance.

19. Yes, especially where the native is under the influence of alcohol.

The apparent diversity of opinion depends on the length of time the magistrate has spent in the native territories. Naturally experience varies, but the information given is based on personal experience; therefore, where it is of a positive nature, it corresponds with the other oral sadistic traits common among the natives. Mention has been made of biting occurring during sexual acts with consent; in fact, chiefs and councillors interviewed on this matter give it as their opinions that biting during sexual intercourse is sometimes more than playful and cases are known where, although the woman at first submitted voluntarily to sexual intercourse, she has after its completion laid a charge of rape against the man, due to the sexual violence and biting inflicted on her during the act. Apart from experience of such a nature, it is not considered unusual for both male and female to bite during normal coitus. The degree of severity will naturally vary according to the excitement at the moment or the resistance offered by the female.

Apart from the oral sadistic activities observed among mental patients in the hospital in regard to fighting and eating, these same traits are found among the natives in the kraals and are far more apparent than similar traits in European culture. Now the oral sadistic drive has its origin in that phase of man's development when the suckling found its supreme satisfaction in mouth activities, especially sucking and incorporation of things into itself by means of the

mouth. This phase of development preceded the genital phase, so that biting during intercourse is a reactivation of pregenital infantile impulses. We call these acts sadistic in adults because of its exaggerated sense of aggressiveness, which may culminate in the desire to inflict pain, humiliate, degrade and subject the sexual partner to cruelty and violence. The normal aggressive male attitude in the performance of the sexual act becomes exaggerated by a desire to dominate, to injure, to chastise and almost destroy, and this is not infrequently portrayed in biting as a form of incorporating the passive partner into himself. This biting of the female as a form of incorporation is therefore the activity of the early pregenital oral phase and shows that it has somehow become blended with the sexual drive. We observe further that the erotic manner of using the mouth in affection, such as kissing, is replaced in such acts by the oral sadistic activity of biting.

Not only does this indicate that early infantile phases are brought into activity in the course of the sexual act, but also that rapid regressive phenomena occur in people of this culture when the sexual propensities are excited. This supports the suggestion previously made that some cultures correspond to the psychological phases of personality development. It appears as if the sexual drives are not satisfied by the act of coitus alone but that the personality requires something else unobtainable in this act. We observe the activity of two emotions, namely love and hostility, which are both excited by the lust of the aggressive partner. The biting appears to be an unconscious component which becomes active in the course of the instinctive activity of the sexual impulse and it may equally be activated by resistance to the aims of the sexual desire.

Seeing that the oral phase was conditioned by the fact that the mother was almost a food symbol at one stage of the individual's existence, and that the mouth activities were primarily satisfied by its application to her breasts, which even at that time was not devoid of sadistic biting activities as well as sucking, it can be deduced that the sexual behaviour of the raw and primitive native shows unsolved remnants of the Oedipus complex in this pagan culture.

CHAPTER XII

Part I

MENTAL HOSPITAL MATERIAL AND SUICIDES AMONG NATIVES

THE male and female native patients included in this study comprise those who are Xosa, Tembu, Fingo, Galeka, Gaika, Pondo, Hlubi and Basuto. These tribes were selected because their customs and mythological beliefs are on the whole similar. Slight variations may be found in the ritualistic practices but the main consideration is the belief in the *Tikoloshe*, *Inyoka* and *Impundulu* and the practice of the initiation ceremonies and sacrifices. Apart from this, they have similar conceptions about mental disorder, especially *ukutwasa* and *ukupambana*.

Male Native Patients :

Schizophrenia	194
Manic-depressive psychoses	10
Epilepsy, including feeble-minded imbeciles and idiots with epilepsy	73
Feeble-minded, imbeciles and idiots without epilepsy	47
All other psychoses	35
	<hr/>
	359
Readmissions	17
Number of positive blood Wassermanns	21

Female Native Patients :

Schizophrenia	131
Manic-depressive psychoses	12
Epilepsy, including feeble-minded imbeciles and idiots with epilepsy	19
Feeble-minded, imbeciles and idiots without epilepsy	9
All other psychoses	24
	<hr/>
	195
Readmissions	6
Number of positive blood Wassermanns	22



Photo by Author

LOW-GRADE DEFECTIVE TYPES

It will be observed that 54·5 per cent. of the males are schizophrenic patients, while among the female native patients 67 per cent. are schizophrenics. It appears that more female patients come from town locations than men. This may account for the predominance of schizophrenia among the females in so far that a psychotic person is sooner a nuisance in a town location than in the kraals. Inspectors, location constables, etc., are all forces for detecting insane behaviour ; besides, there are no facilities for hiding such a person, due to the density of town location populations.

The small number of manic-depressive psychoses is also significant, males 6·7 per cent. and females 6 per cent. The diagnosis in the manic depressive group was based on absence of hallucinatory influences and the presence of periods of elation, flight of ideas, dancing, singing and shouting, as well as periods of depression. Most of the readmissions come from this and the epileptic group. There may be some of those classed among the females in the manic-depressive group who may later be found to be schizophrenics of the catatonic type. A true manic-depressive psychosis is indeed rare among the Cape coloured and native races. The triad schizophrenia, epilepsy and feeble-mindedness always predominate. The schizophrenics all conform to the classical paranoid, catatonic and hebephrenic types.

Among the male patients, twenty-one out of 359 had positive blood Wassermanns and among the females twenty-two out of 195 patients. Careful investigations revealed that those with positive blood Wassermanns came from town locations, especially one seaport town. None of the pagans coming from the kraals gave a positive reaction. Among those with positive bloods there was not one with *parenchymatous* neurosyphilis.

In view of the fact that the schizophrenic picture presented by those of primitive culture is of great interest to psychiatry, I consider it necessary to give a series of abbreviated descriptive notes made within three days of admission. It will be seen that the broad framework of the psychotic behaviour differs very little from those pictures presented by European culture, except for the delusional content and the predominance of active negativistic types. Other behaviouristic traits found among these native psychotics will be enumerated later.

FEMALE NATIVE SCHIZOPHRENIC PATIENTS ON ADMISSION

1. Dull, apathetic, indifferent, grins foolishly and wanders about aimlessly in a confused state.
2. Dull, silly, restless and hits out impulsively.
3. Confused, mutters to herself and hears voices, claims people are trying to poison her with witchcraft.
4. Confused, solitary, hallucinated and mutters to herself, actively negativistic.
5. Solitary, scattered thought, impulsive, abusive and mutters to herself. Episodes of mutism.
6. Hostile, abusive, impulsive, hits out, interfering, restless and actively resistive. Has ideas of grandeur.
7. Dull, frightened expression, sits and gazes vacantly into space, actively negativistic, refuses to answer.
8. Dull, apathetic, grimaces, episodes of excitement and then mute, becomes suddenly assaultive.
9. Confused in thought, vindictive and resentful, claims to be a witch-doctor with thousands of cattle, actively hallucinated and impulsive.
10. Dull and depressed in appearance, claims voices are continually speaking to her, but she cannot understand them. Shows no interests, talks quietly to herself.
11. Actively hallucinated, expresses persecutory delusions about witchcraft, is restless and obstreperous.
12. Confused, scattered in speech and very impulsive.
13. Dull, expressionless appearance, mutters to herself, becomes actively negativistic and mute.
14. Confused, incoherent, hears God's voice.
15. Dull, fatuous expression, rambling and incoherent, responds to auditory hallucinations.
16. Confused, silly, foolish, grins and grimaces, all responses incoherent and irrelevant.
17. Silly, impulsive, burst in peals of mirthless laughter, entirely incoherent, talks to herself.
18. Dull, confused, puzzled, apprehensive, mutters to herself and is actively hallucinated and resistive. Claims her throat must be cut open to remove something.
19. Dull, stupid, hallucinated and impulsive.

20. Vacant in expression, apathetic but gesticulates and strikes attitudes. Expresses delusions of wealth.
21. Talkative, impulsive, excited and scattered in thought.
22. Fatuous, mumbles and mutters to herself, becomes excited, abusive and assaultive.
23. Foolish, with a vacant smile, quite incoherent in responses and hallucinated.
24. Dull, apathetic, scattered in thought, becomes actively negativistic and mute if questioned.
25. Restless, noisy, grins foolishly, and inadequate in affective responses, antagonistic and impulsive.
26. Dull and profoundly indifferent and apathetic, sits in one position and gazes vacantly into space, mute.
27. Confused, incoherent, restless, impulsive and dirty in habits.
28. Restless with stereotyped behaviour, actively negativistic and hallucinated, with spasms of impulsive outbursts.
29. Confused, irritable, abusive and negativistic.
30. Dull, stupid, silly, mutters to herself, claims there are snakes in her vagina.
31. Dull, actively resistive, scattered thought and dirty on her person.
32. Irritable, resistive, pugnacious and interfering, expresses delusions of persecution.
33. Dull, stupid and confused, gives no response.
34. Dull, mute, inaccessible and impulsive.
35. Noisy, excited, has delusions of wealth and persecution, actively hallucinated, subject to episodes of violence.
36. Silly, foolish expression, talks to herself and grimaces.
37. Confused in thought, points at the roof, actively hallucinated, quite incoherent in responses, sits in one place and mutters to herself.
38. Vacant in expression, scattered in thought, dull and solitary.
39. Dull, hallucinated, impulsive, assaultive and quarrelsome.
40. Has hallucinations of sight and hearing and claims snakes in her inside ; utters delusions of persecution.
41. Solitary, indifferent and confused in mind.
42. Wild in expression, claims there are money and snakes in her stomach and that she is bewitched.
43. Dull, confused, resistive and mutters to herself.
44. Vacant, apathetic, talks to herself.
45. Dull, smiles fatuously, childish and foolish, hallucinated.

46. Impulsive, quarrelsome, has delusions of persecution and claims she is bewitched.

47. Silly, foolish, hallucinated with delusions of grandeur, claims her father is King of Johannesburg.

48. Actively hallucinated in auditory sphere, talks incessantly, shows emotional apathy.

49. Hears voices telling her that she has a million husbands. Talks to herself and shows episodes of impulsiveness.

50. Impulsive and actively hallucinated, claims a snake in her abdomen and expresses delusions of persecution.

51. Very impulsive, claims snakes in her abdomen and is actively hallucinated.

52. Dull, stupid, resistive, inaccessible.

53. Excited, restless, expresses many delusions of persecution.

54. Confused, restless and scattered in thought.

55. Sullen, irritable, negativistic, delusions of persecution and hallucinated.

56. Smiles inanely, grimaces and has hallucinations of hearing.

57. Dull and suspicious, hallucinated with delusions about witchcraft.

58. Confused, noisy, excited, hallucinated with impulsive violent episodes.

59. Dull, apathetic with active negativistic reactions, becomes hostile and assaultive at times.

60. Dull and childish with a vacant foolish expression.

I have taken these sixty notes at random to give an impression of these psychotic reactions. They are practically all similar, with an active negativistic reaction to all attention. Even in a fairly clear paranoid trend, episodes of mutism, resistiveness and negativism appear. The element of hostility underlies most of the psychotic reactions in these female native schizophrenic patients. Most of the patients at some time or other give expression to their delusional ideas, in which the mythological beings figure prominently.

The outstanding characteristics are :

(a) The confusion of thought.

(b) Disturbance of association of thought.

(c) Divorcement between mood and thought.

MALE NATIVE SCHIZOPHRENIC PATIENTS

1. Sullen, expressionless, solitary and takes no interest. God tells him the world is wrong. He hears the voices of his *Izinyanya*.
2. Dull, stupid in appearance, indifferent and almost inaccessible, claims he is a witch-doctor.
3. Confused in mind, listens and responds to the voices of his *Izinyanya*, otherwise resistive.
4. Dull, confused, stands in a rigid fixed attitude and is entirely inaccessible. Grimaces at times, and shows waxy flexibility.
5. Sits in a crouching attitude, vacant and dull, can give no account of himself.
6. Dull, stupid and actively negativistic.
7. Confused, resistive, noisy and violent, claims to be bewitched.
8. Dull, confused, totally disinterested, sits by himself.
9. Hallucinated, hears *Izinyanya*, sits in a fixed attitude and walks in a stiff manner.
10. Mute, grimaces, stereotyped in postures.
11. Violent and dangerous before admission. Hears voices of many people.
12. Dull, stupid, foolish, grins and can give no account of himself.
13. Wild and excited, claims he must kill someone, actively hallucinated.
14. Excited, noisy and impulsive and violent, "preaches" as instructed by God.
15. Laughs foolishly and mumbles to himself, confused and scattered in thought.
16. Stands in fixed attitudes, head bent. Expression apathetic and totally indifferent.
17. Vague and rambling in his statements, dull, indifferent and hallucinated, hears his *Izinyanya*.
18. Confused, vacant, but hears voices from the skies telling him to sacrifice an ox for his sin. Shows episodes of impulsive excitement.
19. Confused, mute, stands and sits in a stereotyped fixed manner, is subject to impulsive excited episodes.
20. Rambling in speech, has 66 wives, 2,000 cattle and hears his *Izinyanya*.

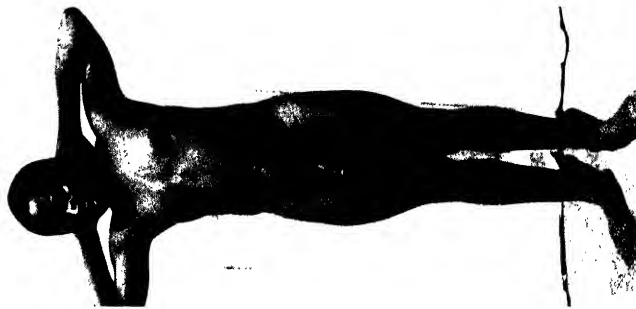
21. Stupid expression, mutters to himself, shows echolalia.
22. Restless, walks about aimlessly, mutters to himself, hears his *Izinyanya* speaking to him, claims he was bewitched by other natives.
23. Childish, confused, apathetic and dull.
24. Reticent and resentful, claims to be a Xosa chief, has many wives and motor-cars. Hears his *Izinyanya*.
25. Very apprehensive, afraid of everybody, mute, struggles and becomes impulsive.
26. Extremely dull and confused, appears puzzled and bewildered, mutters to himself.
27. Rambling in conversation, restless and confused. Hears his *Izinyanya* praising him.
28. He stands motionless with clenched teeth in a listening attitude and then grins and mutters to himself. States he is listening to his blood.
29. Stands stiffly about, aimless, confused with a vacant expression.
30. Stupid and dazed appearance with sudden bursts of laughter which subside as rapidly, leaving a blank expression.
31. Restless, talkative, confused, with active negativistic episodes.
32. Grins in a foolish inane manner, states he hears his *Izinyanya*.
33. Confused, restless and talkative, with a sad expression. Claims to hear many voices from the skies.
34. He grins fatuously, states he laughs "because he is not there." Solitary and indifferent.
35. Mildly excited, gesticulates, grins and talks to himself with scattered thoughts.
36. Indifferent, disinterested, confused, stands in one position all day.
37. Hallucinated, hears his *Izinyanya*, aggressive, querulous and noisy.
38. Excited and restless in aimless confused manner. Claims to be the King of England. Actively hallucinated.
39. Dull and stupid, grins foolishly, stereotyped movements.
40. He hears voices from far away. He is frightened and apprehensive, thinks he is bewitched.
41. He is confused, with scattered thought and gives numerous delusions of persecution as well as active auditory hallucinations.
42. His appearance is dull and apathetic, refuses to speak, shows peculiar mannerisms and listens to voices.
43. He hears his dead uncle telling him not to work. His enemies



SCHIZOPHRENIC
Circumcised



Left to right, Manic dep., Schizophrenic and Epileptic



Photos by Autho
SCHIZOPHRENIC
Uncircumcised

are after him and want to kill him. Otherwise dull, aimless and keeps to himself.

44. Dull, stupid, can give no account of himself, at times impulsively excited.

45. Apathetic, grins and claims people are out to kill him.

46. Querulous, aggressive and actively hallucinated. The *Impundulu* chokes him, *Abantubomlambo* emerge from the water in the lavatory and try to seize him by his testicles. The *Tikoloshe* brings him food, but the food is poisoned.

47. Scattered in thought with a vacant expression, breaks off the conversation to answer his *Izinyanya*.

48. Mute, resistive and mutters to himself.

49. Rambling, confused, dull and resistive. Answers voices from the skies.

50. Restless, confused, with mute inaccessible periods. He prays to *Umdali*, and angels come and take the food out of his mouth.

51. Dull and confused, hears voices.

52. Resistive and confused, hears voices from distant towns.

53. Stupid, dull, confused, stands motionless in one attitude.

54. Aggressive, pugnacious, sullen and solitary. Claims voices are speaking from the graves.

55. Somewhat foolish, claims he goes down beneath the ground at night-time to hold converse with his *Izinyanya*.

56. Sits about in an aimless manner, with a vacant expression, with episodes of excitement.

57. Quiet, smiles and grins foolishly, strikes attitudes and makes signs to the people riding on the clouds.

These notes give a very inadequate idea of the psychotic reactions of these patients, but they do show evidence of the confusion of mind presenting a senseless, bizarre mental picture. The negativism of the males appears to be more of a passive kind than the negativism of the female schizophrenic patients.

It is quite common for patients who were stuporous and confused and inaccessible on admission to give expression to many delusional ideas after a while. In any case the picture of mental confusion stands out clearly above any other syndrome. A study of the mental content and the psychotic behaviour of native patients has brought to light some interesting factors, having a direct bearing on the cultural influences.

HALLUCINATIONS

Auditory hallucinations predominate among male patients. The largest percentage hear the voices of the *Izinyanya* and a small percentage, especially those belonging to the Christian faith, hear the voice of God. Among the females the hallucinatory reactions are similar, with the addition of visual and tactile hallucinations, about the *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka*. The *Inyoka* is felt in the female sexual organs, abdomen or throat. The *Tikoloshe* and *Impundulu* are seen at night-time in their attempts to have sexual intercourse with the patients. Another tactile hallucinatory influence is the choking sensation the patient experiences on preventing the *Tikoloshe* or *Impundulu* from having sexual connections.

Visual hallucinations among the male patients concern the presence of the *Izinyanya* in their dreams, which are related as real occurrences. The next most common visual hallucinatory experience among the male schizophrenics concerns the *Mamlambo*. Many of them describe having first seen the *Mamlambo* while they were in the *Mkweta* hut. Others again relate how during an *ukutwasa* phase the *Mamlambo* came and slept with them and raised no objection to sexual relations. As a result of this intimacy with the *Mamlambo* many of them feel that they have sinned against the *Izinyanya*. In fact one patient demanded that we must kill him, because he had slept with the *Mamlambo*.

Epileptics, on the other hand, frequently describe dream experiences, in which they went down underneath the deep pools in the river to visit the *Abantubomlambo*. After these dream experiences, they usually experience a panic on crossing a river or stream, because they are afraid that the river may suddenly become full and swallow them or suck them down into its depths. Some such belief must be existent in the culture of these people, but it is of interest that it has only been found in the mental content of epileptics. There is, of course, the belief that epilepsy may be caused by the *Abantubomlambo*, but this belief in itself seems hardly sufficient reason for the occurrence of these dreamlike experiences, unless there is some deep symbolism associated with this mental condition, which can be interpreted as birth phantasies.

IDEAS OF INFLUENCE

No instance could be found of ideas of influence operating from a distance, similar to those commonly found in the European, namely being influenced by electricity, telepathy or hypnotism. The ideas of influence in the native psychotic fall within the category of witchcraft and are all concrete instances of the ingestion of poisons which later begin to operate, producing all sorts of symptoms. One native prisoner, examined during trial and charged with rape, related how this same girl, on a previous occasion, blew into his ear during the act of *metsha*. He paid particular attention to this act of blowing into his ear and it was not long afterwards when he noticed his skin was turning black, whereas he was previously brown. Apart from this change in his skin, he was in constant communication with his *Izinyanya*.

Therefore no invisible influences are operating from distances; they always see the persons doing the evil and these persons are always in their immediate presence.

HOMOSEXUALITY

Among the female patients, this takes the form of mutual masturbation and is found especially among epileptics. The attachment to each other of such couples is always apparent. They sit together, share their food and help each other in dressing and undressing.

Among the male native patients overt homosexual relations in the nature of pederasty occur in 80 per cent. of the patients. The active partners are usually the paranoids and feeble-minded and the passive partners are the epileptics and dull schizophrenics and imbeciles. As a rule each patient has what he calls a "wife". If a patient is given a new shirt, pipe or tobacco, the next thing one finds the "wife" wearing the shirt and smoking the pipe. Another interesting feature is the fact that many of these "wives" gradually become effeminate; they assume coy and demure poses, part the hair in the middle and walk with an effeminate gait of swaying at the hips. Quarrels and fights over these "wives" are quite common among the mental patients.

Chief Velelo tells me that he has heard of homosexual relationships in the nature of pederasty among natives, but it is very rare, so

that we can assume that the prevalent homosexual behaviour of pederasty among the male hospital material is due largely to segregation from the pseudo-sexual licence of the kraals and the absence of concubines. The mental regressive phenomena no doubt have an influence.

The aggressive homosexual behaviour of the paranoid types strongly supports the view that the attachment of the paranoid's *libido* to the environment has a homosexual basis, with this exception that the male native paranoid patients do not seem to experience conflict or reject the overt homosexual urge. I have not found homosexual masking by means of rationalizations and projections among male native paranoids to reach the same degree of defence complexity as abounds among European paranoids. This may largely be due to the *Abakweta* ceremony which solves the Oedipus complex and admits the young man into the community of men, so that loving his own sex carries the approval of his social morality. Naturally this approval does not include homosexuality, but it includes much that will lessen the conflict. For instance, I have frequently observed in the stick fights among young men that they rush at each other and rub their bodies together, chest to chest, and then jump apart and rain blows upon each other.

PHALLIC SYMBOLS

These have mostly been found in the delusions of female native patients, and usually occur in the form of the *Tikoloshe*, *Impundulu* and *Inyoka*. It is surprising what a large number of patients have delusions with reference to one or other of these mythical beings.

Among the males the *Tikoloshe* and *Impundulu* come into the persecutory delusions as carriers of witchcraft, while they rarely occur in this capacity in the delusions of female patients.

SELF-MUTILATION

This is extremely rare among native patients. Only two cases have occurred over several years where the patients tried to injure their genital organs. Among the females, picking and scratching of the skin is found, but it is not common. Although the insertion of articles into the vagina is not uncommon, it is not done with the object of mutilation. Attempts at self-circumcision are not unknown in the

native territories and occur, to my mind, among feeble-minded youths who are debarred, due to immaturity, from undergoing the ceremony. None of the staff has ever heard a circumcised native patient make a request to be castrated, whereas these requests are not at all uncommon either as direct requests or rationalizations in delusional trends among European schizophrenic patients. Therefore to the native the circumcision, as a symbolic castration, must do away with this need of expiating his forbidden impulses by means of a desire for castration.

DELUSIONS OF PERSECUTION

Among the female native patients the majority suffer from delusions that their food is poisoned by some evil person or persons. The next most common delusion is that of being bewitched, and the third is that of having had something stolen, a lover or property. The female native patients have more vindictive delusions of having been frustrated or deprived of their rights or property than the males. These persecutory trends among the females are always more prominent than the grandiose ideas.

Among the male patients the delusions of having been bewitched are the most common. Second comes poison and third, the loss of money or other possessions by theft.

Jealousy as a constituent of persecutory delusions is fairly common among the females, but rare among the males. In these delusional settings it not infrequently happens that the person is a mother-in-law.

DELUSIONS OF WEALTH AND GRANDEUR

The delusions of wealth among the females occur in the following order of frequency :

- (a) Cattle.
- (b) Land.
- (c) Money.

Delusions of wealth among the males are as follows :

- (a) Cattle.
- (b) Wives.
- (c) Money.

The most prominent delusions of grandeur in both male and female pagan native patients are :

- (a) Being a great *isanuse* or witch-doctor.
- (b) Being in communication with the exalted *Izinyanya*.
- (c) Being a chief, of royal blood or a daughter of a chief.

Epileptics of the Christian faith frequently express delusional ideas that God had specially selected them to preach to the people.

ORAL TRAITS OF CHARACTER

Oral sadistic traits are well-marked among native patients. In all the fights that take place among native patients, biting takes first place, sometimes a finger or an ear is nearly bitten off. This is equally so among the females. The males usually attempt to injure the genitals of the opponent, as well. But biting is not peculiar to native mental patients. I am told that when a native fights without his sticks, his mouth and teeth are his chief weapons.

Another instance of oral activity is observed in relation to food. It is rare to find a native schizophrenic in such a stupor that he or she refuses to eat. Spoon-feeding among male natives is unknown unless it is a fragile old senile patient. However confused, dull and stuporous a patient may be, whenever the food is brought near him he grabs it and eats ravenously and gluttonously. Their reactions to food are especially sadistic and voracious when meat is served. On such days excitement and restlessness, shouting and fighting are common among the females. The natives' craving for meat is profound. A hundred and fifty females will finish their dinner in just under ten minutes, while the men will eat more leisurely but still voraciously. The meat especially is devoured with hands and teeth like wild animals tearing up their prey.

The native craves bulk in his food and he is only satisfied that he has had enough when he feels uncomfortably full. It does not matter how well balanced a diet is, if it contains no bulk, it is not satisfying. These traits of oral incorporation are more sadistically prominent among the females, as is illustrated by the prevalence of the delusion of poisoning by means of oral ingestion. The regressive phenomena in the psychoses bring these characteristics into the foreground, but due to the fact that these traits are quite evident even in the life of the normal native, the degree of regression need not be

profound. We see these oral activities portrayed in the native's craving for bulk in food, tobacco to smoke and chew, and his ready addiction to alcoholic liquors.

One other observation made in the study of native mental patients is that they hardly ever impulsively smash a window-pane.

CHAPTER XIII

Part II

MENTAL HOSPITAL MATERIAL AND SUICIDES AMONG NATIVES

WHEN we consider man's protective impulses against injury and destruction, self-destruction must have some profound antecedent psychic disturbance which seriously affects his orientation to life-problems. Apart from those cases of suicide where the behaviour of the individual has shown evidence of psychoses or some psychopathological drive sufficiently frank in its manifestations to be understood as such, there is a large blurred field of thinking about suicide. To my mind this blurred field is due to several factors and I think we can rank them somewhat as follows :

1. Absence of knowledge about the habits, thoughts, wishes, desires, ambitions, fears, emotional forces, personal and family history of the suicide.

2. Absence of knowledge about the individual's inner psychic state, his secret sorrows and fears prior to the commission of the act of self-destruction.

Lack of information on these essential factors of the individual's psychobiology, especially his constitution and heredity, brings into prominence those other extraneous incidents belonging to his environment and crediting them with etiological possibilities.

From such inference we readily proceed to mystic theories about suicide. Reasons for suicide are advanced based on the superficial fabric of the man's life and so there comes into existence the conception of a death instinct, which is described as follows :

"If it is true that once in an inconceivably remote past and in an unimaginable way, life arose out of inanimate matter, then, in accordance with our hypothesis, an instinct must at that time have come into being, whose aim it was to abolish life once more and to re-establish the inorganic state of things. If in this instinct we recognize the impulse to self-

destruction of our hypothesis, then we can regard that impulse as the manifestation of a death instinct.”¹

In spite of my admiration for the genius of Professor Freud, I cannot accept this explanation. To my way of thinking, life was not the result of inorganic matter but flowed through inorganic matter, as it were. Therefore life is primary, and inorganic matter secondary. I can conceive of a design or plan inherent in matter to undergo a change to facilitate death, for death itself must have a purpose; it must be dynamic, but surely not in a retrogressive manner to revert to an inorganic state; such a view is decidedly contrary to the teleological manifestations of life.

I do not deny that the occurrence of self-destruction may be due to the peculiarity of the organization of the matter-part of the psycho-physical personality, but this does not give it a primary place in the creative plan as one of the dynamic forces in the manifestation of a life current. In spite of the plausible explanation of suicide that the death instinct provides, it cannot be seriously considered as anything else but an artifact, similar perhaps to the pathologist who interprets post-mortem changes as causes of death. What is assumed to be a death instinct is but an appearance, and what is considered as a death instinct is not a teleological principle, but comes about as a result of the defective integration and inadequate organization and function of the psycho-physical personality. The direction and flow of *libido* or energy becomes distorted or deflected, not because it is predetermined that this should be so, but because the psychological aspect of the personality is at a loss how to deal with the *libido* at its disposal; or better still, it may merely be a manner of reacting to unpleasant stimuli.

Surely, if such an instinct is in existence, how is it that the plan of creation and the evolution of life has skipped the lower animals and that this instinct should only make its appearance when man is reached? Frenzied reactions of man can hardly be ascribed to the operation of a dynamic purposive trend, implanted as a vital component of the life principle. It seems so thoroughly inconsistent with the manifestations of life all around us. I cannot see that it is at all necessary to, or even consistent with, the main principles of Professor Freud's psychological discoveries—discoveries which have revealed to us a profound knowledge of human behaviour.

¹ *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, by Professor Sigmund Freud.
S.C.P. U

Similarly do I think that "identification with the dead" is not primary but comes about as an incident in the course of some psychic emotional storm. Other conditions must first have brought about an abnormal state before these attachments and fixations can determine the flow of *libido*, and I think a careful search will find most of these "other conditions" in the hereditary factors of the individual's life.

It is generally believed that the rate of suicide increases with civilization. For this reason I consider that whatever evidence can be produced about suicide in a primitive culture is of great importance to psychiatry. If the complexities of modern civilization and the intricacies of industrial and economic life are causative factors in the rate of suicide, then suicide must be accepted to be primarily due to the stresses and strains of these conditions, which in turn bring about emotional storms and disorientation to life's demands which will precipitate acts of self-destruction. But is not the whole matter of complexity of civilization relative to the economic and cultural conditions of the primitive? Is there any difference in the emotional reactions or in the affective state of the man who loses his fortune on the share market and the pagan who sees his crops and cattle destroyed by pestilence and drought? Knowing as we do that sex and hunger are the two dominant factors in his culture and that the satisfaction of his food needs are primary; in fact, that his happiness, security, loyalty and subservience to law and order depend on the satisfaction of his food needs, then we must credit him with emotional reactions of despair in the face of such economic difficulties. His attachment to his kraal and family and their clamour for food must create as vital reactions in him as the loss of his fortune creates in the European.

These conditions of starvation, prolonged droughts and disease among live stock, are indeed common to the life of the native in the territories, and still no cases of suicides are known to magistrates of as much as 30 years' experience in these territories, which can be considered as the result of despair in the face of economic difficulties. The Europeans in the slums of the large cities of the world cannot claim to have suffered more from the pangs of hunger and starvation than the natives during some of those prolonged droughts in the history of our country. Hence, apart from the contributing factors of economic despair, there must be other factors of primary importance in this act of self-destruction.

In my opinion, these contributing or causative factors depend on the genetic and constitutional peculiarities of certain races, as well as

those prohibitory social forces in the dynamics of individual and collective behaviour. In this latter category we must place as conditioning influences having dynamic value, the power of religious beliefs. There is some evidence which shows that the religious cultural patterns have a decided influence on the form of suicide and the frequency of its occurrence. For instance, the ceremonial suicides known as Hara-Kiri and Suttee are condoned by religious beliefs and social approbation. Such acts carry approval and are motivated by the desire to sacrifice the self for some accepted ideal; it is not performed because the individual is sick of life for its own sake, but he refuses to continue to live because of certain conditions, and his death is a sign of protest against the existence of these socio-political conditions. Sometimes it appears as if these ceremonial suicides are committed out of spite.

The cultures which embrace these ceremonial suicides have thus no prohibitory influences, since these acts carry their approval. Indeed, the suicides in the nature of Hara-Kiri and Suttee are synonymous with acts of patriotism and the laying down of one's life for the ideals of one's national sentiments. The citizen displays a masochistic attitude towards the state. There is, therefore, a profound difference between suicide of this nature and occasional suicides among peoples of cultures which do not condone ceremonial self-destruction. Both Hara-Kiri and Suttee occur in countries where the reigning religions are Brahminism and Buddhism, which enjoin and permit acts of self-destruction.

But even in these countries where ceremonial suicide exists, there must be suicide due to pathological motivations and not primarily inspired by the idealism of cultural approval. In view of the common fact of experience that man is constantly finding rational explanations for irrational motives, the cultural pattern is bound to obscure inner pathological drives and provide a channel for many to interpret their pathological selfish aims as of altruistic and national value. Indeed, the contagious and dynamic influence of approved social patterns of thought and belief makes the differentiation between pathological motives and lofty idealism, as portrayed in Hara-Kiri and Suttee, extremely difficult. As far as I know, there is no scientific psychological knowledge about the inner drives of the minds of those who have committed Hara-Kiri or Suttee.

We frequently learn that some prominent personage has committed ceremonial suicide; at times more than one member of an

aristocratic household, and, because of the high social position of such people, it is almost naïvely assumed that all their motives were quite rational. Apart from the approved cultural influences, there seems to be a powerful intensity of desire to suffer, or a masochistic drive. However this may be, one thing is certain, that ceremonial suicide of this nature will lower the threshold of resistance to self-destruction in such a culture.

While still considering religious influences, let us turn our attention to another oriental religious belief, namely Mohammedanism. The Koran prohibits suicide and views it as a crime graver than homicide. If we take into consideration the many Hamitic influences in the pagan culture forming the material of this book, it is just possible that it may have an indirect influence on the low rate of suicide among the native people of these territories. No one can deny the Hamitic and Semitic influences in the customs of these people.

Before we deal with the pagan native's views on suicide, let us turn to the frequency of suicide in the two leading European systems of religious belief, namely Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. It is said that the suicide rate is much higher among Protestants than among Roman Catholics. In confining ourselves solely in this respect to the dynamic influence of religious beliefs on the collective life, I wish to make it clear that I am not a Roman Catholic and that my knowledge depends on the human material I have handled as a physician. Now the Roman Catholics believe explicitly in the survival of the spirit, and definite rituals are carried out conforming to this; prayers are said for those who have died; saints and others are asked to intercede for them; prayers are said for those unhappy ones who took their own lives, implying that they are in a state of darkness, ignorance and suffering on the other side, and that they are misguided creatures suffering for their misdeeds. The Roman Catholic explicitly believes that the act of voluntary self-destruction will only plunge the suicide into greater chaos, confusion and difficulties on the other side. The nature of the worship and the intensity of the belief makes this conception an enduring reality for most devout Roman Catholics, and thereby has dynamic value for increasing the resistance to acts of self-destruction. Again, the Roman Catholic Church is a much more closely knit organization than the Protestant churches, and provides opportunities, by the means of confession, to bring the problems of the oppressed one before the authorities of the church; and the priest, as a father, fulfils and is able to guide some of

the regressive needs of the oppressed member in his moment of trouble.

It appears that a psychological state comes about, which prevents masochistic trends from aims of self-destruction and diverts or sublimates them into channels which demand that suffering should be borne until happy release by natural death. To the average Roman Catholic the church has a vital emotional influence, and the disapproval of the tenets of his belief cannot be equated by the appeal of some other social influence which is contrary to his religious beliefs. Naturally the success of his adherence to his Faith will depend on his ability to comprehend its purpose.

In Hara-Kiri and Sutee, the last act is played, if not in public and on the steps of some public building, then before the unseen audience of social approval—almost an appeal to the grand-stand of social idealism. We see a similarity in this and the preparations for suicide among those of other cultures.

If the Roman Catholic Faith has a prohibitory influence on suicide, this influence must exist in its organization and guidance of its emotional appeal. The Protestant churches lack this explicit and definite guidance in the emotional lives of its followers. The Protestant has no such clear picture of the future course of events as the Roman Catholic; in fact, the Protestant shows a somewhat blurred outline of his religious aspirations, no doubt influenced by the dim and distant resurrection. In consequence, the emotional appeal of the Protestant churches cannot be so readily visualized as a directive force, apart from their lack of ritual stimulating mental imagery.

Having considered some of the conditioning prohibitory religious influences, the question arises, are there not other factors of a racial constitutional nature which may have a bearing on the difference in the rates of suicide between at least two races or peoples? I have in mind the Teutonic people and the Latin races. A tentative suggestion in this direction is found in the evidence (if correct) which shows a predominance of suicide among Teutonic people compared with Latin races. Broadly, it appears that the Teutonic people as a whole are more inclined towards introspection or, rather, show less *lability* of emotional reactions. The Latin races are quicker in their emotional reactions, more excitable, and the intensities of their reactions are not so prolonged. They externalize *libido* rapidly and almost instinctively. Aggressive impulses are more likely to find an object outside themselves than inside themselves. It does not seem to imply that

the Teuton has a severer superego, but depends on the rapidity of the emotional discharge and thus rather suggests something peculiar to this racial soma. If such a mechanism can be considered to have a constitutional racial significance, then reasoning from these premises would lead us to the conclusion that the introjection of sadism is more common to Teutonic people than to Latin races. I advance this theory for what it is worth and base it purely on the superficial differences between these peoples. Nevertheless, these differences are of significance if we wish to understand them. Even the literary and artistic productions of the Teuton are much heavier emotionally than those of the Latin. Metaphorically speaking, the Teuton has less joyous laughter, less happy song and perhaps less sudden tears than the Latin.

Assuming that there may be certain biological determinants of a constitutional racial type which may have an influence on the rate of suicide, these biological factors which facilitate the externalization of *libido*, plus the prohibitory dynamic influence of the Roman Catholic church, may account for the low rate of suicide among Roman Catholics and Latins.

Narcissism is of course common to all people, but it would appear, by basing our opinion on the experience of psychopathological cases who committed suicide, that it is not the narcissistic phase in human development which primarily determines the direction of the *libido*, but that there are a host of factors, psychological and constitutional, which serve as determinants and utilize the narcissistic phase of human development for the introjection of sadism leading to self-destructive tendencies.

Now what bearing has all this on the native races among whom suicide is extremely rare in comparison with the Europeans of our culture? To ascertain this, let us first direct our attention to the pagan religion of the native.

The pagan believes that the act of suicide debars him from joining his beloved *Izinyanya*. Suicide is evil and therefore he buries the suicide far away from the kraals or away from the recognized burial place of the kraal. Sometimes they are buried on the mountains to remove their evil spirits as far as possible from human habitation. As I have pointed out previously, the burial place is sacred to the members of the kraal and can be considered as consecrated ground, similar to the conception of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. The suicide is only buried in consecrated ground if a sacrifice is first made

to the *Izinyanya*. The reason for the sacrifice is to wash away or expiate his sins and thus prepare him to be received by the *Izinyanya*.

We know that evil and witchcraft are one and the same, and we know that witchcraft and mental disorder are practically synonymous, so that if by the time the person commits suicide he has shown in his behaviour evidence of witchcraft of a profound nature, it may happen that no sacrifice is made for his spirit, because his spirit will be too steeped in evil. I think it depends entirely on what they consider to be the cause of his suicide. The influence of evil which is so constantly feared according to the definitions of traditional knowledge, creates a disapproving emotional attitude towards impulses of self-destruction. I am told by pagans that no native will take his own life unless he is under the influence of witchcraft. The pagan religion can thus be held responsible for one set of conditions of a dynamic nature opposing the tendency to self-destruction. The other prohibitory factors may exist in the racial constitutional characteristics of the native.

We know that mental disorder and defect are quite prevalent among the natives. We know that manic-depressive psychoses are rare and that suicide is extremely rare. Therefore, what are the likely racial characteristics which may have an influence on this low suicide rate? I think they are to be found in those characteristics of free play of instinctive energy similar to that attributed to the Latin. The native is excitable and readily gives free expression to his feelings and impulses. He is, of course, not incapable of inhibiting them and harbouring a grudge, but this inhibition is then largely the result of the coming into activity or existence of a counter-impulse, maybe fear. Dancing and singing are two important components of his life. He is childishly optimistic and trusts to the morrow, while projection of his thoughts and emotions are his common reactions to life's difficulties. His psychology is built up on the principle of blaming someone or something else for his shortcomings. Although he is profoundly narcissistic, his aggressiveness is readily externalized and is rarely turned upon himself with self-destructive intent. In these characteristics I think lie the basic determinants against suicide.

It may be thought that because pagan elders lie down and desire death and sometimes claim to die at will, that this characteristic is identical with the tendency towards self-destruction, but experience of the native mind shows that this condition has nothing in common with occasional suicide. When a pagan elder becomes old, he reaches the stage where earthly joys and cares are no longer of interest. He

begins to think of his next life and union with those who have gone before. In fact this process of maturation, accompanied by physical infirmity, brings him nearer to the realm of his *Izinyanya*, and when he believes the time is come for him to go, he calmly awaits the signs which from within him will indicate that life's struggles are over and his beloved *Izinyanya* await him. He does nothing physically to hasten and influence the course of events; he patiently awaits the time when his spirit will be called.

This receptivity, considered by the European as a form of fatalism, is to the native elder nothing but awareness that his life-span on earth is nearing its end. Therefore his desire to die and join his *Izinyanya* is not identical with the desire to terminate his life by his own hands. Doctors and nurses frequently remark on the passivity of the native during an illness. Those qualities which the European calls the will to live and the instinct to fight to get better are rarely, if ever, observed in a native. He lies quietly, as if he is waiting for something, either death or recovery. The European's struggle to live may primarily be due to fear of death. In spite of this active will to live, the European is still more liable to commit suicide than the native. It is essential that the absence of fear of death, as displayed by the native during an illness and the behaviour of the pagan elder towards the close of his life, be not confused with introjected sadism and suicidal trends.

The settings in which these emotional reactions occur are of primary importance. The person who experiences a compulsion to destroy himself, and the person who bemoans his fate and craves to be poisoned, shot or hanged, and also the person who is agitated and worried over his unpardonable sins, and the one who hangs himself with a monkey rope or voluntarily plunges to death down a steep cliff, or the woman who is afraid of her husband because she became pregnant during his absence, or the person who cannot stand being reprimanded and hangs himself as if to spite someone, cannot possibly be compared with the pagan who awaits his end with a happy frame of mind. There is something violent and destructive in the behaviour of the others; they are forcing the issue, and suicide is often but an incident amidst the confusion of this emotional storm. Pregnancies in the absence of husbands on the mines are not at all uncommon and compensation is as a rule paid, so that where suicide occurs as a result of an illegitimate pregnancy and the fear of loss of security, the act is but an incident in the course of some stormy impulse when other inhibitory powers are at a minimum and self-pity readily leads to the

introjection of sadistic impulses. In view of the dynamic value of the antithetic stimulation coming from sociological influences, the susceptibility for the intensity of emotional reactions which can precipitate suicide must have its main determination in the constitutional life of the individual.

The native is decidedly afraid of death when he is not ill and before he reaches the maturity of an elder. He is, as a rule, very cautious where danger is concerned, unless in an emotional upheaval of great anger, or when his aggressive propensity is thoroughly provoked. His warlike preparations and war priests, giving him immunity against destruction by the enemy and blessing him with magic powers, in days gone by, had much to do with the ferocity and frenzy of his aggressive emotions in war, as the history of South Africa bears witness.

In discussing suicide among natives with a Tembu chief recently, he gave it as his opinion that suicide among his people is extremely rare. The only case he could remember was that of his own brother who threw himself before an oncoming train and was killed. They could not discover a reason for his brother's suicide, but they suspected he was bewitched. Now a sister of this chief and of his dead brother is at present a deteriorated epileptic in the mental hospital. Naturally they do not associate the neuropathic condition of the sister with the abnormal act of the brother. It stands to reason that all inquests held on natives who have committed suicide will find little, if any, evidence to bring in a verdict of unsound mind. The native, if questioned on insanity in the manner one would question a European, will deny any such evidence. Besides, we have seen the manner in which his reasoning and judgment work in this matter. The official holding the inquest will find according to the information before him, that fear and worry over something the person had to face were the main reasons for the suicide.

It is always of interest to observe in nearly all cases of suicide that the less known about the person the greater the intolerable situation which is presumed to have precipitated the act. We can really only exclude psychopathological conditions in any case of occasional suicide if we are fully aware of the individual's mental content, his wishes, desires and fears prior to death. Hearsay evidence and the findings of the court of inquest are inclined to lay stress on worries and economic difficulties, to the exclusion of those factors essential to psychiatric opinion. We gain the impression from press reports and

the opinions of friends, that the individual was otherwise normal and that suicide came about as the result of his inability to cope with some difficult situation. If we are to place any reliance on these sources of information we shall be faced with the conclusion that quite a number of suicides were neither psychotic nor psychoneurotic. In several cases of inexplicable suicide I have come across psychotic family histories, and I am inclined to think that the factors in suicide which are considered as causative will disappear once the personal and family histories of the person are thoroughly investigated.

As a rule, the conclusions are drawn after the event without knowledge of the inner drives and thoughts of the suicide's mind, and superficial evidence as to the difficulties he had to face during life is given an importance which it rarely deserves. By the time external situations assume such an importance in the person's mind that suicide is inevitable, it still remains to be seen whether his emotional reactions are appropriate to the provoking situations. Therefore when the magistrates informed me that the cases of suicide they investigated were not mentally disordered, I kept in mind the many difficulties with which such an investigation would be confronted, especially the native's conception of mental disorder. It was of interest how frequently the magistrates drew my attention to beliefs in witchcraft associated with suicide, and knowing the various connotations of witchcraft, I began to suspect possible psychopathological conditions as precipitating factors.

To obtain this information I circularized the magistrates in the native territories to ascertain the number of cases of suicide reported to their offices during the last two years. All cases of suicide are reported to the magistrates through the various channels, such as headmen, chiefs and police. In an area containing a population of 868,944, according to the last census returns, there were fourteen cases of suicide and four cases of attempted suicide during the last two years. Of this number, one case was considered mentally disordered by the magistrate because the man is said to have been subject to epileptic seizures. Very few particulars were submitted with the replies, but in eight cases of this series the evidence is of psychiatric interest, since it is said to be fairly typical of suicide in general among the natives.

1. Female aged 28 found hanging in a bush. Hanged herself with a monkey rope. Cause—domestic quarrel with husband and her people.

2. Male aged about 35 hanged himself as he was the principal witness against his brother for murder (flogged his wife to death).

3. Male aged 26 died by hanging. Recently converted to Christianity and suffered from epileptic seizures.

4. A boy whose guardian always checked him hanged himself.

5. A woman who became pregnant during her husband's absence hanged herself.

6. A man whose wife would not stay with him hanged himself.

7. A man who thought he had killed his wife hanged himself.

8. A boy of fifteen attempted suicide.

9. A wife made an attempt at suicide after a quarrel with her husband.

10. A wife aged 25 hanged herself. Cause—pregnancy during absence of her husband.

11. A girl 19 years of age threw herself over a cliff.

12. Wife hanged herself. Pregnancy in absence of husband.

Suicide or attempted suicide is so rare among the Bantu people that there must be some serious psychic disturbance before such an act is committed. The insufficient reasons for suicide given above, fail to provide us with information about the mental conditions of the suicides, except that in nearly all the cases the trouble concerns some maladjustment in social relationships and the idea of being faced with insurmountable difficulties. The magnitude of the obstacle will naturally depend on the adaptive abilities of the person. Of course we do not know the peculiarities in their lives which brought about those conditions that made life intolerable for them. The common method employed by suicides is hanging, with occasional exceptions of plunging to death down a cliff or precipice. I am told that this latter method is usually employed by girls.

Magistrates with thirty years' experience informed me that suicide is extremely rare, compared with Europeans, and that some of them have only come across three cases in the course of thirty years. I made enquiries in the usual way from chiefs and their councillors, since they are the best informed on such matters. They corroborated what the magistrates had said and attributed most cases of suicide to witchcraft influences. They said these suicides frequently believe that their people have turned against them. This awareness of a loss of security is strongly suggestive of some psychopathological drive. They display a narcissistic attitude, sulk, wander about alone, will not speak, and consider themselves entirely deserted, and resultingly

make attempts at suicide. If the feeling of insecurity were not so prominent in this culture as customs, rituals, sacrifices and mythological beliefs prove it to be, we might attribute the low rate of suicide to the absence of this emotional disposition, but, in view of the rarity of suicide and the prevalence of the feeling of insecurity, there must be other determining factors of a psychopathological nature. The feeling of insecurity preceding suicide no doubt only comes to light in the course of some regressive trend.

If identification with the dead could seriously be considered as a cause of suicide, then it should play some rôle in this culture. The emotional contagiousness common to primitive people should facilitate identification with the dead and thereby increase the rate of suicide, that is, if identification with the dead has really the dynamic force it is reputed to have, for this culture provides ample opportunity for such identification, especially if we think of the esteem in which the elders are held and the elaborate funeral rites, mourning and sacrifices. So we must come to the conclusion that identification with the dead cannot be considered as a primary cause of suicide.

SUICIDE AMONG HOSPITAL MATERIAL

It is almost unknown in the mental hospital to have a native patient under observation for suicidal tendencies, just as it is extremely rare to find a native mental patient in the hospital making an attempt at suicide. This may be accounted for by the fact that severe depressions and depressions with agitation are hardly ever seen among the natives.

This Mental Hospital has been admitting patients for the last fifteen years, during which time 1,000 male natives and 700 female natives have been admitted. Out of the 1,000 male native patients, two were admitted with deep self-inflicted cuts across the throat. One was an epileptic and the other a schizophrenic. Another schizophrenic made aimless attempts at hanging himself in the hospital, but ultimately ceased trying. One male native patient hanged himself from a tree in the grounds; he is said to have been depressed.

Out of the 700 female native patients admitted over fifteen years, none have made attempts at suicide or committed suicide during their stay in the hospital. Three female native patients, however, were admitted with deep self-inflicted cuts across the throat. One died as result of her attempt at self-destruction and the other two recovered

from their wounds. All three were schizophrenics of the catatonic type.

This low incidence of suicide, or attempts at suicide, among the hospital material, is a fair indication of the low rate of suicide among the Bantu people as a whole, and supports my contention that where suicide occurs in the native territories, the act must be considered as an incident in a psychopathological process.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CRIMES OF STOCK THEFT AND HOMICIDE

THE study of the social customs of the native emphasizes two important traits in his make-up, which have a direct bearing on the crime of stock theft :

(a) His love for cattle and live stock in general.

(b) His oral traits.

Cattle and horses play such an important rôle in his culture that his main idea of wealth is possession of such animals. We find this even illustrated in the delusions of wealth of the hospital patients. In fact, the native calls his daughters his cattle, because he can only estimate their marriage value in the form of " so many head of cattle ", with a horse or two thrown in.

If we appreciate the two needs in this culture, namely sex and food, we begin to understand that cattle and horses are complementary to the fulfilment of the sex needs, so that we may say that there is an instinctive disposition which can only attain its goal in an approved manner via the possession of such animals. Live stock as a means to an end is, in consequence, of vital importance in his life. His desire for possession does not really imply a love for animals but rather a love for their value. The appeal that live stock has for the native is also influenced by the conscious symbolic connotations as seen in his sacrifices and marriage ceremonies.

The theft of cattle and horses, therefore, is determined or influenced by emotional needs and becomes the main acquisitive urge in the native's mind. It is said that the native will never sacrifice a stolen animal in his rites, because this will bring down on his head the wrath of his *Izinyanya*.

Apart from ordinary thefts of live stock, there are the organized cattle and horse thieves. These consist of gangs, operating in different districts. Cattle or horses stolen in one district are taken to another district and sold by the gang operating in that district, and vice versa. This trade in stolen animals is well organized, and the members of

the gang not only provide for the family of those who are caught and imprisoned, but they engage lawyers for their defence. Indeed, cattle rustling is a profession and at times assumes the proportion of a traditional occupation in a family, the secrets of which are handed down from father to son. Frank Brownlee's "Cattle Thief", is an excellent study of this type of organized native crime.

The stealing of pigs, sheep, goats, poultry and domesticated game, falls within the category of thefts committed for oral needs, since these animals are stolen for killing and eating. Mention has been made of the native's craving for meat. He places a great value on meat as a food and whenever meat is available he gorges himself to the utmost. There is something ravenously sadistic in his attitude towards meat. It is not only a great delicacy, but it is credited with great health-giving qualities. Elders have frequently remarked that the change of the times, the paucity of cattle, sheep and goats, have reduced to a minimum the meat supplies of the people. Once upon a time when cattle roamed in huge herds and they had plenty of meat to eat, their people were strong and healthy, but now they only have meat once or twice a month, and then not sufficient is available to make them feel they need not eat again for a few days.

Although this scarcity of meat in the diet is no doubt conducive to stock theft, the native's general attitude towards food and his stomach is indicative of powerful oral needs, which reflect the infantile nature of his culture. A large number of stock thefts are committed by natives working and living on European farms. The issue of regular meat rations to these employees might assist in lessening the temptation to steal. Pigs are commonly stolen and eaten by boys, and this theft is, to a certain extent, restricted to juveniles on account of the taboo against the eating of pork.

The statistics (see Tables on following page) for stock theft in the Union of South Africa illustrate that thefts of animals that can be eaten predominate, especially sheep, goats, poultry and domesticated game.

There is a marked discrepancy between the number of stock thefts that come before the courts compared with the native populations of the different districts, which indicates that there must be certain conditions peculiar to the district, such as organized stock thieves, poverty of the inhabitants, unemployment, the cultural status of the tribe and the efficiency of the police.

Of course the number of stock thefts brought before the court

STOCK THEFT

NATIVES CONVICTED OF STOCK THEFT :
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1935

Class of Stock Stolen.	Prosecutions.		Convictions.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Horses	478	4	323	2
Mules	—	—	—	—
Donkeys	237	1	174	1
Horned Cattle	1,049	52	679	28
Ostriches	—	—	—	—
Pigs	563	15	449	5
Sheep or goats	4,332	230	3,343	134
Poultry and domesticated game	1,906	277	1,529	197
All Stock	8,565	579	6,497	367

It is of interest to compare the number of stock thefts that came before the court in certain magisterial districts from May 1935 to May 1936, with the native population of these districts, as follows :

District.	Total stock thefts.	Committed by boys.	Population.
Tsomo	15	0	33,265
Nqamakwe	21	6	40,045
Bizana	20	0	57,636
Mount Fletcher	48	5	37,586
Kentani	83	62	48,253
Matatiele	50	4	52,203
Lusikisiki	21	1	69,793
Umtata	81	24	48,267
Mqanduli	26	11	46,747
Engcobo	79	11	71,411
Cala (Xalanga)	23	3	19,901
Libode	60	49	38,250
Willowvale	32	10	55,563
Idutywa	41	19	35,735
Total	600	205	654,655

does not include the number of persons implicated ; for instance, 26 cases of stock theft came before the court in Mqanduli, involving 101 accused, for in many cases more than one person is charged on one indictment for the same offence.

Out of the 600 cases of stock theft, 205 were committed by juveniles.

Out of the 60 cases of stock theft in Libode, 49 were committed by boys. Idutywa had 19 cases of stock theft committed by juveniles, involving 82 boys. Some of the magistrates believe that boys are frequently instigated by adults to steal live stock. On the whole it can be said that juvenile crime in the native territories is exclusively the stealing of live stock.

There are several factors in this culture conducive to the crime of stock theft. To recapitulate, there is the native's attitude towards live stock in general, there are his food needs and his oral characteristics, and there is the scarcity of meat in his diet and his conception of the value of meat as a health-giving foodstuff. Then there is the ancient accepted native custom that the concealment of a theft is no crime, but assisting to commit one is. Nor is it a crime to eat of the flesh of a stolen beast, even if it is known that the beast is stolen, unless those who partake of the flesh are connected with the actual commission of the crime as accomplices. This custom gives the thief a sense of security, since his friends and neighbours are not committing a crime by pleading complete ignorance about the stolen animal, although they may have partaken of its flesh.

It is extremely rare for a native to give information or evidence against his neighbour or one of his kraal, unless it becomes necessary in order to clear himself, or unless he has some private grudge against the individual concerned. With this clan attitude towards crime, especially crimes committed against the property of Europeans, stock theft is not only indulged in for the gratification of hunger, craving for meat and oral desires, but it creates a set of conditions facilitating the operation of organized stock thefts for gain.

Another extremely important influence in the direction of theft is the fact that the *Abakweta* are told that should a kraal refuse to accede to their requests for food, they can steal from that kraal. I am sure that this approval of theft, defined and limited by the elders to certain circumstances, is readily extended by the *Abakweta* to live stock, sheep, goats, pigs and fowls. It gives the *Abakweta* a sense of freedom, importance and power, which is frequently abused. When the *Abakweta* are allowed to roam about, hunt and snare small game, acts of daring in the form of thefts are not infrequent, and this in spite of the explicit instructions against crimes of theft other than where a kraal refuses them food. Instructions which give the *Abakweta* permission to steal, should be omitted from the *Abakweta* ceremonies, since the chief pastime of these young men is the search for food.

The concealment of a crime, especially stock theft, does not seem to apply to cases of homicide. I know of a number of cases where the murderers were apprehended largely through the assistance and the information given by natives. Shocking crimes committed on Europeans have frequently called forth the public expression of abhorrence by the natives in that district.

With the advent of the white man, native law has been superseded by our criminal law, and no native chief in the Cape Province has criminal jurisdiction. Nevertheless, it is of interest to consider briefly the provisions then existent in native law for dealing with cases of homicide. Each member of the tribe was the property of the Chief and whenever a person was murdered, the chief had to be compensated for the life of a subject. The fine for a male was seven head of cattle and for a female ten head. This is of significance, since the female is given a greater value than the male, but this has reference to her *lobola* value or the dowry she is worth on the marriage market, or her worth as one of the wives of the tribe; for even if her *lobola* has been paid, her death is a loss to her husband and, as property of the chief, a loss to the chief. Hence compensation must be paid. Under all circumstances must the homicide be atoned for.

The native is not by nature bloodthirsty, but his aggressive instinctive or pugnacious propensities are excitable, easily roused and explosive. As I have previously mentioned, his aggressive *libido* flows outwards, becomes readily externalized, and sudden impulsive assaults, often fatal, are not uncommon. Careful study of the emotional reactions of the participants in stick fights, of course initially playfully performed for my benefit, has shown me how quickly and explosively the native loses his temper and retaliates with death-dealing blows at his opponent. Fatal blows are only avoided by the defensive skill of the opponent. Aggressive impulses are quickly evoked, although there is no apparent bad feeling after such a stick fight. I came to the conclusion that once an emotional impulse is aroused and the stimulus continues to be present, the native just drifts along with the impulse and exercises little if any inhibitory power, unless this inhibition is brought about by the evocation of another impulse, opposite in aim to the first, such as the activation of the impulse of fear: nevertheless this fear must not be remote, such as a fear of consequences, but it must be a fear stimulated by something present at the moment. Resultingly, the intellectual mechanisms of

foresight, judgment and self-control are readily submerged by the instinctive impulse.

The following chart of homicide statistics supplied by the Census and Statistics Bureau shows the predominance of homicide by native on native.

NATIVES CONVICTED OF HOMICIDE :
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1935

	Prosecutions.		Convictions.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Native on White	12	1	7	1
Native on Coloured	3	1	2	1
Native on Native	1,411	57	1,056	44
Total	1,426	59	1,065	46

The rate of homicides committed by natives on white, coloured and native is 171 per million of native population, and the rate of homicides by native on native is 169 per million of native population. A comparison of these homicide statistics with other countries is of interest.

Haynes¹ gives the following statistics :

In 1924, Canada had a homicide rate of 15 per million of population.

In 1926, the homicide rate for England and Wales was 7 per million of population.

In 1926, the homicide rate for the United States of America was 454 per million of population for the coloured race, against 52 per million for whites.

Of 9,210 homicides in 1926 in U.S.A., firearms were used in 6,377 cases or in 69.2 per cent. of cases.

One fact stands out clearly from these statistics, namely that the negro and coloured races commit the largest number of homicides, and that the use of firearms is a contributing factor. Unfortunately, I am not in possession of the number of homicides committed in South Africa by natives by means of firearms, but from a general experience

¹ *Criminology*, by Fred. E. Haynes.

I consider this number to be very small, in view of our restrictions on the sale of firearms to natives. Nevertheless, on account of the sudden aggressive or impulsive nature of his assaults, any laxity in the sale of firearms may easily increase his homicide rate. The majority of native homicides are committed by means of stabbing or beating to death.

This externalization of aggressive impulses with a homicide rate of 169 per million of native population and the small number of suicides among natives, supports my theory that suicide has some basis of a racial constitutional nature, and that races who are prone to the externalization of aggressive propensities in an impulsive manner, have a low rate of suicide. I am of opinion that this occurs because there is among such races less introjection of sadism.

Further evidence of the externalization of sadism is provided by the treatment or punishment meted out to witches in days gone by. The nature of the attack on the sorcerer was in no way more brutal than that committed by the European races at the time when the hunt for the witch was rampant. At that time in Europe the mentally disordered formed the bulk of the witches, even as it does to-day among the natives, and it is of importance when the *isanuses* claim that the majority of sorcerers or witches are to be found among the *amaxhwele*. At all events, in the days before native commissioners and the South African Police were established throughout the native territories, the "smelling-out" ceremonies for witches were conducted in the following manner:

Immediately the *igqira* had named the sorcerer, those assembled made a rush at the poor accused. His clothes and ornaments were rudely torn from his body and a special party appointed for the purpose of carrying out the punishment then took charge of the wizard in order to make him reveal the hidden secrets of sorcery, especially the medicines by means of which he carried out his enchantments. It is said that the accused was tied on the ground next to an ant-heap, the nests were then smashed, and the irritated ants attacked the poor wretch, crawled into his nostrils, eyes and ears, causing the most excruciating pain by their bites. At other times the wizard was laid on the ground and large flat stones heated red hot were placed on his groins, abdomen and chest. Another mode of torture was the tying of the limbs together, producing the most agonizing pain. If the wretch confessed his sorcery and the enchantments he employed, the chief claimed the same number of cattle as he

would have done in case of a homicide. If the wizard died under the torture, the chief claimed seven head of cattle for his life as well. More often persons charged with witchcraft were put to death at the expressed wish of the chief; under such circumstances the chief took possession of the whole of the sorcerer's property and frequently "ate up" the whole of his kraal.

The term "eating up" is also significant from an oral sadistic point of view. This phrase "eating up" is employed when a tribe exterminates another tribe, or sends a punitive expedition against a tribe or clan. It means total destruction, so that a phrase symbolic of oral incorporation is employed whenever someone or some tribe or clan has to be destroyed or exterminated. It may be a remnant of cannibalistic traits, actively practised by these people in the remote past of their history.

On a recent visit to the native territories I enquired for a certain headman whom I had reason to mistrust. I learned from the wives that he had instructed the elders not to give me any information about their customs, and this after he had been liberally rewarded for some insignificant service. On this occasion I was told that this headman was in prison and had been deposed because he "ate up" the tax money of another man. This shows that "eating up" is associated with spending, destroying, using up and total extermination.

STOCK THEFT AND ITS PUNISHMENT

Since imprisonment with hard labour is the usual form of punishment meted out to stock thieves, I was interested to know in how far this form of punishment is a deterrent. For this purpose I submitted two questions to magistrates in the native territories for their opinions, as follows :

1. What do you consider is the best deterrent in cases of stock theft?

2. Do you consider imprisonment of value?

Replies :

1. (a) Whipping.

(b) Yes, for first offenders.

2. (a) Whipping and spare diet. Natives understand and appreciate the use of force.

(b) Yes, but natives regard the work without pay rather than the incarceration as the punishment.

3. (a) Imprisonment and lashes.

4. (a) In my experience a sentence of whipping is the best deterrent.

(b) Imprisonment is of no value unless of a long term.

5. (a) Whipping with imprisonment.

(b) Yes.

6. (a) I know of no effective alternative to imprisonment with hard labour and with or without spare diet.

(b) Yes, if sufficiently long. Natives ordinarily do not feel the disgrace of imprisonment but find it a hardship to be separated from their women, and this I have been informed on good authority is the only way they really suffer from imprisonment.

7. (a) This is difficult to answer. In cases of first offenders imprisonment may have a deterrent effect but, in so far as it refers to accused persons who have previously been convicted and sentenced for stock theft, imprisonment does not appear to serve any useful purpose. Sometimes whipping has a good effect.

8. Imprisonment is of some value but corporal punishment is, in my opinion, more effective.

9. Imprisonment and in addition lashes where stock thieving is prevalent.

10. I consider imprisonment best deterrent except in cases of youths, in which I advocate caning.

11. (a) I consider lashes the best deterrent.

(b) Not to the ordinary native, unless perhaps very long sentences are imposed.

12. (a) Imprisonment and lashes.

(b) Yes, but to the same extent as with Europeans. A native likes freedom and having to be shut up in prison is not pleasant. Moreover, the sanitary work prisoners have to perform in prison seems to be loathsome, and if the option of a fine is imposed, it is remarkable how such fines are paid, even where very heavy and out of proportion to the native's earning capacity.

13. Imprisonment where the crime is not very prevalent, but where indulged in excessively the addition of cuts with a cane is imperative. Reviewing judges are reluctant to confirm sentences of corporal punishment for first offences, but if the position is properly represented, cuts are passed as a suitable sentence. I have had experience in two districts of this form of punishment. In one district with a population of 52,203, where stock thieving was rampant, heavy

sentences, the minimum being nine months' imprisonment with hard labour, had no deterrent effect. I then resorted to imprisonment with cuts and an immediate beneficial result was noticed. This class of crime was abnormally prevalent in another district, with a population of 38,250, and during 1935, 141 persons were found guilty of stock theft. Cuts were started and the convictions to date are 28. This speaks for itself. Where it has been considered necessary to resort to cuts the term of imprisonment has been reduced, for example during 1935, nine months' imprisonment with hard labour (I.H.L.) was the normal minimum sentence. Since January 1936 this is altered to seven months I.H.L. and eight cuts. Not less than eight cuts should be given an adult, as a lower number is not sufficiently effective.

The reason for cuts and lashes having a deterrent effect is not only the pain inflicted, but the contumely attached thereto; for a man to receive the punishment generally meted out to a child, brings down on the culprit the scorn of his fellow-beings, which to the native mind is a disgrace not conferred by imprisonment, which if anything, is looked upon as the deserts of manhood. This latter, of course, refers essentially to "raw" natives.

14. (a) I consider the best deterrent in stock theft cases is severe corporal punishment.

(b) Yes, I consider imprisonment is of value, particularly indeterminate sentences in the case of old offenders; it at least makes it impossible for the particular individual concerned to indulge in further stock theft.

15. This question presents a certain amount of difficulty. From my own experience here in the Transkeian territories, I have found imprisonment ranging from four months upwards quite sufficient. Sometimes there appears a wave of stock thefts, and then I have found the most effective deterrent to be corporal punishment.

16. (a) Imprisonment is, I think, about the best. Pigs seem to be regarded as fair game by the youths, and when they appear before the court on charges of stock theft it is usually for killing and eating a pig.

It is very seldom that there is any real criminal intent in such cases and a whipping is perhaps the most effective punishment for them.

(b) Yes, the deterrent effect on the hardened thieves may, perhaps, be little, but stock owners are at least protected during their incarceration.

The consensus of opinion expressed by these magistrates

emphasizes the deterrent effect of corporal punishment and, to a large extent, minimizes the effectivity of imprisonment as a deterrent, except where they advocate the indeterminate sentence. This view is supported by the chiefs and their councillors, who contend that imprisonment is of little value, since most offenders who have suffered imprisonment repeat their crimes. In fact, they add that the men come out of prison looking robust and well, sometimes in strong contrast to their physical condition before imprisonment, and besides they ask, "How can imprisonment be of deterrent value when they even have meat in the prison diet?" They maintain that the only successful measure is corporal punishment, but consider that the institution of the traditional native law of compensation is still superior.

The magistrates in the native territories seem to have only two methods at their disposal for the punishment or treatment of these offenders and these are imprisonment and corporal punishment. I am going to suggest a third method worthy of trial, but before doing so I think we should enumerate those factors in the native's life which, according to his characteristics, traditional beliefs and habits of conduct, can be utilized in conditioning him to constructive social disapproval.

It is claimed by prison officials that the hardships of imprisonment are felt only in the segregation from his womenfolk and that the native otherwise adjusts himself to prison routine with apparent contentment. But even the absence of his womenfolk is frequently compensated for to a degree by indulgence in homosexual practices, similar to the behaviour of hospital patients, which indicates the primitive organization of the sexual impulse in the average native. Resultingly, this form of deprivation cannot be said to make imprisonment any more effective as a deterrent, especially when substitute gratification is always at hand.

Another deterrent factor in favour of imprisonment is said to be the work without remuneration, for, to the native, labour must have a reward. The willingness of the native to pay compensation or a fine, as well as his resentment towards work which does not bring tangible benefits, are in favour of the institution of a form of punishment which demands compensation and work under the traditional principle in native custom of collective responsibility.

We can appreciate the deterrent effect of corporal punishment, since it is a disgrace for a circumcised native to be punished in the manner of a child. This is indeed so if we keep in mind the significance of the *Abakweta* ceremony. However effective this form of

punishment may be, it is not constructively educational, since the aim of corrective measures should be that which will stimulate and develop feelings of loyalty for our national institutions. In teaching the native to become law-abiding according to our standards of social morality, it is essential that we incorporate in this process of education all those values which are of importance to him and which enjoy not only his interest but also his traditional approval.

For this purpose it is of interest to view some of the main principles of native law, dealing with crimes against property. In this law there are, to my mind, three important features. First, it is based on precedents handed down from generation to generation and housed in the memories of councillors and elders. Second, it is based on the principle of collective responsibility. Third, it recognizes no other punishment than that of fine or compensation. The general rule is that from infancy all disciplinary measures take the form of corporal punishment, but thefts are met by the levy of fines, when adulthood is reached. This seems to imply that nothing hurts a native more than parting with his property as punishment for his delinquent deeds.

In olden times when native law held sway, the fines were levied on the principle of ten to one. Hence for every one ox stolen the culprit had to pay back ten oxen. But I believe this was not rigidly carried out, but that the fine varied according to the circumstances of the case. Fathers and near relatives were held responsible for the delinquent acts of uncircumcised youngsters and it is said that where the elders or the offenders could not pay the fine, they were given time to do so and sometimes the period extended over years.

The principle of collective responsibility is, of course, still evident in this culture. Each kraal holds itself responsible or answerable for each of its members under the rule of the head of the kraal and the elders. When the early Colonial Government found how difficult it was to recover property, or live stock stolen from the colonists by the natives, they introduced the "Spoor Law" based on this principle of collective responsibility in native custom. The concealment of stock theft was then, as now, a matter of clan loyalty. The acceptance of the "Spoor Law" by the chiefs and its application to the native territories, lays down a fundamental principle in collective responsibility, which has a direct bearing on the plan I have in mind for the treatment of stock thieves and the education of the native in obtaining his co-operation in the maintenance of law and order under the administration of the white man.

This "Spoor Law" reads as follows :

"Section 200 of this code, as amended by the Cape Act, No. 41 of 1898, enacts,

"When the spoor of any stolen animals is traced to any kraal or locality responsible, in respect of the value of such stolen animals shall be determined as is hereinafter provided ; that is to say :

1. The head of any kraal shall be responsible for the value and damages of any stolen animals, the spoor of which is traced to such kraal.
2. The owner of any stolen animals, the spoor of which has become lost or obliterated has a right of search for any traces of such animals in any hut, kraal enclosure or lands in that neighbourhood ; and any person refusing to permit such search is responsible for the value of animals stolen.
3. When the owner of any animal is on the spoor of such an animal, it shall be lawful for the owner to demand from the persons living in the neighbourhood all reasonable assistance in following up such spoor and whoever neglects or refuses to give such assistance and by such neglect or refusal causes the loss or obliteration of such spoor, or whoever by wilful obstruction or malice causes the obliteration or loss of such spoor, is liable for the value of the animals stolen.
4. When such spoor cannot be traced to any specific kraal or kraals but is lost or becomes obliterated on any lands, then the responsibility for the value of such stolen animal shall devolve upon the heads (*Abaninimzi*) of the kraals adjacent to and surrounding the spot where such spoor has been lost or obliterated ; and for the purpose of compensating the owner of such stolen animal, it shall be lawful for the magistrate so to fix such responsibility by assessment not exceeding two head of cattle (or their money value) to be by such magistrate levied on each kraal to make up the whole value of the stolen animal or animals."

This "Spoor Law" is, of course, purely a civil law and for criminal procedure the law requires that the culprit be produced and his guilt established. Broadly it can be said according to native custom, that a man's goods are his own property, but his person is the property of the chief. Thus, if his property is stolen, he can claim redress for himself. It must occur, frequently in fact, that innocent members of the community have to pay compensation under the "Spoor Law", but this is accepted by the chiefs as just, since as a community they are collectively responsible for law and order.

We find thus that this accepted principle of collective responsibility leaves a framework in the social structure of native communities, on

which the principles of modified probation can be grafted, and I suggest the extension of this fundamental principle along the following lines :

1. That each community in an area to be defined by the native commissioner or magistrate, shall have a probation committee of seven members, consisting of the heads of kraals.

2. That each of these committees be answerable to the headman or chief and these in turn be answerable to the magistrate or native commissioner.

3. That offenders be made to pay compensation for the stolen animal or animals and that such compensation shall exceed the value of the animal and thereby cover the costs of the procedure.

4. That the offender be placed under the supervision of the probation committee in his area for the duration of his suspended sentence and be made to report to the officials of the court or police at certain set periods.

5. That the offender cannot leave the area or district without the permission of the probation committee, who, in turn, must obtain the consent of the magistrate or native commissioner.

6. That he delivers, according to the order of the court, the animal or value thereof as compensation to the probation committee, who shall in turn inform the magistrate or native commissioner as to the disposal of the compensation or fine.

7. That the probation committee of the area receive some small remuneration for their services payable out of the tribal funds or by the State.

Magistrates and police have informed me that crimes of stock theft are frequently committed by the *Abakweta* especially before they become *amarwala*. Here again I would suggest that the chiefs or headmen be instructed that explicit instructions must be given the *Abakweta* during the ceremony, against this sort of crime, and furthermore that the right to steal when food is refused be eliminated from this ceremony. To assist still further in this matter, it seems to be advisable that as soon as the *Isutu* and his officials have been chosen, they inform the headmen or chiefs and officially pledge their responsibility for the lads under their supervision.

My object in formulating these suggestions is to train the native in the prevention of crime and the recognition of the social responsibility for crime, and to shape his social organization in such a manner as to make him feel that he is assisting in the ideals of social govern-

ment. Besides, instead of giving the native the impression that there are two groups in conflict, namely the native group and the white man's government, it creates a machinery made up of natives for securing information about the offender, upon the basis of which the court makes its decisions. Enquiries by the court along the lines of my questionnaire with reference to family histories, will assist the court in committing the offender to a mental hospital for observation of his mental condition.

The big argument against these proposals is sure to be that the native is not sufficiently impartial in his judgments and that his clan and tribal loyalty will bias him in his decisions. Such arguments are small debating points, in view of the educational purpose involved. Besides, will he ever attain impartiality if he is not gradually trained to extend his loyalty to the other institutions of our country, without thereby depriving him of loyalty to his own traditions? I obtained information about mental disorder by utilizing the native's conception of these conditions, and we can equally obtain his co-operation by utilizing his customs and habits of conduct with this difference that our aim is to raise him higher by degrees.

The native has his collective responsibility as we have seen, but this collective responsibility is limited to his primitive social organization and does not extend to the conception of a social responsibility embracing the white man's administration of law. If we expect this awakening of social responsibility along broad lines, to come as the result of school and book education, we will not only shirk our responsibility towards the native, but we will wake up to find the disaster of accumulated effects on our doorsteps. Surely, both forms of education are necessary, but social education is more within our reach than formal school education, especially when we are thinking about crimes and criminals.

Not only is it most essential, but it is within hope of accomplishment if we inspan a little extra constructive effort and give leadership in obtaining native co-operation. These statements are based on my personal experience of the native, for having organized the first native probation committee in the Union of South Africa among the natives here in the Queenstown Location, and having seen their enthusiasm in co-operating with the court and the seriousness with which they assume their duties, I am satisfied that this method of probation can be applied in the native territories. But I am fully aware that its success will depend on the efforts, interest and leadership of

the European. Indeed, in the present state of cultural development of the native, the onus of failure must be placed on the shoulders of the European. Our culture and our leadership is something which must be constructively applied for the guidance of the lower strata of society.

I am aware that in reference to the native, this burden will fall on the civil servants having to do with native administration. I am also aware that initiative, originality, individuality and leadership are frequently sacrificed on the altars of routine and seniority in the Civil Service. But in spite of these difficulties, I have faith in our magistrates and native commissioners in the native territories, that this ideal of social education among the natives is capable of accomplishment.

There is ample reason for thinking that psychopathological conditions are more prevalent among the natives than the Europeans. This in itself, apart from sociological crime, requires careful investigation. A psychiatric survey of habitual native criminals which are said to form 80 per cent. of all our habitual criminals, may produce some interesting revelations. I am not prepared to speculate about the incidence of mental abnormality or subnormality in this criminal class; at least, not until I am in possession of some scientific data. Suffice it to say that the majority of feeble-minded natives who are admitted to the hospital for observation are accused of stock theft. The court could not have failed to observe the obvious mental defect, since they are as a rule extremely low-grade, mostly within the imbecile class. Higher grades, of course, will escape detection, since their outward behaviour will have nothing indicative of mental abnormality, and then the mental abnormality, to be recognized by the court, must as a rule conform to the lay mind's popular conception of a lunatic, that is a person who grimaces, strikes attitudes, laughs inanely, talks nonsense and becomes violent. We cannot fail to see, in view of these many factors affecting and perhaps determining criminal behaviour, that a mass approach to crime is bound to be faulty by giving the impression that all crime is the result of wilful misconduct.

There are such a host of motives and attitudes involved in crime, which defy analysis by the court, that some machinery, however crude, must be at the disposal of the court to assist it in the administration of justice. My argument must not be construed that feeble-minded or psychotic persons form a large percentage of stock thieves; candidly I do not know what percentage they form, but I expect they contribute their quota towards this class of delinquent. Their presence will be readily obscured as individuals because the court's procedure

is concerned with the act, and the offender behind the act only comes on the scene to receive his punishment, since the whole object of punishment is that live stock must not be stolen. Quite apart from the question of frank mental disorder or defect, there is the class of abnormal characters which show no mental abnormality, but act out their instinctive drives in an anti-social manner. The disapproval of the social group has usually little influence on these people. This type has always given me the impression that there is something missing in the personality make-up, as if the personality lacks or is poor in the capacity for providing those mechanisms essential for adaptation to the social approval. So that, although our primary approach to crime is to bring about a social organization to train the individual, there are those individuals who are not trainable or who cannot be socially conditioned, and in such people crime is largely the result of biological factors which abound more in the emotional than intellectual spheres.

These natives migrate from the territories and roam about as vagrants and tramps. When I enquired of the elders why some natives roam about and never build up a kraal and a family, they answered that these are bad people and that tribal laws and customs have no influence on them. It seems on the face of this that there abounds a type of criminal of whom the outstanding characteristic is the absence of gregariousness; even the natives recognize this by referring to the lack of influence tribal customs and traditions have on these people. We have a large percentage of this type among the Europeans of our chronic delinquent classes. There is something not socially wrong in the lives of these people, but something constitutionally wrong.

It is necessary in our approach to crime that we recognize that the danger to society exists in the presence in our midst of those who are weak in character, psychologically weak, constitutionally weak or weak as the result of wrong sociological influences in the development of the personality, leading to a lack of social responsibility. All these factors may operate together or independently. The natives who steal, kill and eat to satisfy instinctive needs and who fall, according to the courts, within the classification of normal criminals, have shown by the repetition of their crimes that in spite of imprisonment, renunciation of bad conduct is not attained, not even at times by the addition of corporal punishment. Therefore some other method of socializing them, which will give gratification in accordance with the

social customs of the native, should be employed by the courts. This, of course, should be tried before the criminal pattern has become established and before the individual has completely capitulated to criminal forms of gratification.

The assistance that can be given to the court by a probation committee, as outlined by me, will be of special value in bringing to the notice of the court information which will assist the magistrate in his decision whether to send the offender for a psychiatric examination, because there are offenders who should be excluded from society at the first offence, especially the defective delinquent who invariably swells the ranks of the recidivists. One reason which may delay the introduction of probation committees in native communities or areas inhabited by natives, will be the assumed speedy effectiveness of corporal punishment and a belief in the end which it serves, because the severity of the penalty is still considered the best means of preventing the spread of crime.

I do not deny its effectiveness on the native in view of the fact that it is punishment suitable for a child and not for a man, but neither is probation a release from punishment and especially does it obviate the weakness of suspending sentences without supervision. It is indeed rather late in the day to advance arguments in favour of probation, but my arguments are in favour of a modified form of native probation, as a means of seeking his co-operation, showing him that the white man places confidence in him, training him to consider the law courts of our land as institutions working for his benefit, making him aware of prevention and not only punishment after the event, relieving his suspicions and mistrust and integrating him with our national communal ideals.

Failure there will be, for the native is but a child amidst the complexities of Western civilization. Nevertheless, it is not immediate results we seek, but the psychological effect of conditioning him to our problems as his problems, for on his co-operation depends the security of the future generations in this country of ours.

APPENDIX

[Replies received to questionnaire on p. 229.]

I

DIAGNOSIS : *Epileptic*

Family History (written in Xosa by a native teacher) :

1. His mother and father both suffered from *ukutwasa*.
2. His mother suffered from fits, fell down and jerked her arms and legs.
3. His mother heard voices telling her to gather herbs.
4. No one was called to *Abantubomlambo*.

2

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia, paranoid type*

Family History (written in Xosa by brother) :

1. No knowledge of *ukutwasa*.
2. No.
3. No.
4. No.

3

DIAGNOSIS : *Epileptic deterioration*

Family History (written in Xosa by father) :

I am still well here with my family. I received your letter and heard all you say. Here are the words I must say to you. His grandmother was *ukutwasa*. Of the other questions nothing is known.

4

DIAGNOSIS : *Epileptic* (he killed his wife and four children)

Family History (written in English by friend) :

I have a pleasure of making these in reply to your letter with which you asked me to acknowledge you about the birth origin of . . . He is a good man and a lovely one to everybody, a hater of evil doing to a person. He is very kind to the people and his children. What has happened to him has astonished everybody. Let me come to your questions. His father was a witch-doctor and had *ukutwasa*. His grandfather was also *ukutwasa*. He himself was a very good witch-doctor before this trouble

happened and was good in examining a person with the uses of the magic bones, and he then explains what is wrong with the sick person. He was always right. I can't say if he was once called to the *Abantubomlambo* or he never been called, because that can happen and I am lack of knowing it.

5

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia, Hebephrenic type*

Family History (given through a Magistrate's Office) :

1. His grandfather used to be a witch-doctor and as far as I can ascertain went into trances and made diagnoses.
2. A cousin of the patient was *ukutwasa*.
3. No history.
4. No, but when the patient first became disordered he went repeatedly to the river and came back wet and covered with mud.

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. Negative.
2. Negative.
3. Negative.
4. Negative.

7

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. One cousin died at Fort Beaufort Mental Hospital. Another cousin at present in Mental Hospital, Queenstown (Catatonic).
2. Another cousin suffered from fits and died last year at Tsolo.
3. Negative.
4. Negative.

8

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Hebephrenic type*

Family History (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. Negative.
2. Negative.
3. Yes, sister of the patient heard voices and gathered medicines in the mountains.
4. Negative.

9

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type.*

Family History (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. An aunt of the patient was *ukutwasa* and afterwards became a witch-doctor. She is no longer living.
2. Negative.
3. Negative.
4. Negative.

10

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in Xosa by sister) :

In few words the *ukutwasa* is the usual custom of this family. Grand-mother and grandfather both were witch-doctors. My two aunts, sisters of my father, were also witch-doctors.

My uncle lost his senses and afterwards became a fool. My great-grandfather had *ukutwasa* and ran away to the mountains. He got lost in the bush and a name was given to him meaning the one who got lost in the bushes. My own father was called to the bush and completely lost his senses, they never returned before his death. Nobody in this family ever took fits.

11

DIAGNOSIS : *Epileptic*

Family History (written in English by cousin) :

I received yours on the third of this month and heard all your sayings. My description is as follows :

1. There was *ukutwasa* in the patient's family. His mother's uncle was a witch-doctor and his aunt was a herbalist.
2. No one of the relatives had fits.
3. I his cousin, the writer of this letter, heard voices speaking to me telling me to collect herbs for medicines. I ran about wild in the mountains. They thought I was mad and took me to Pretoria Mental Hospital. I am alright.
4. No one was called to *Abantubomlambo*.

I hope this letter is going to be of great assistance to you.

12

DIAGNOSIS : *Imbecility with Epilepsy*

Family History (written in English by aunt) :

1. His maternal aunt was *ukutwasa*.
2. No.

3. She heard voices calling her to the mountain and gathered herbs. She became a witch-doctor.
4. No.

13

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia, Hebephrenic type*

Family History (written in English by native teacher) :

1. The patient's great-grandmother was demented, also his father's sister, who died.
2. The above relatives suffered from fits and ran about wild in the bush.
3. Not known.
4. Yes, his paternal uncle was called to *Abantubomlambo*.
The patient himself before his mental illness collected bones and called them human bones. His father is very reserved in his answers to the questions, but I have heard from others what he denies.

14

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in English by uncle) :

1. The patient's paternal grandfather and a sister of the grandfather was *ukutwasa*.
2. The grandfather used to have fits. The sister of the grandfather ran about wild and lost her senses.
3. I do not know.
4. I do not know.

15

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written by a native Methodist Minister) :

1. No satisfactory information could be found on the father's side as old persons are dead. On the mother's side it is stated by Nkanteni Ketabahle, maternal uncle of the patient, that the wife of Jiyana, the mother of the patient's maternal uncle, was *ukutwasa*, and the mother of the patient was also *ukutwasa*.
2. No.
3. No.
4. No.

16

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in English by a relative) :

Sorry to say I reply this letter very late, someone got it and stayed away from me.

1. Yes, there was *ukutwasa* in the family of your patient. His grandfather was *ukutwasa* and became a witch-doctor.

2. His mother suffered from fits, lost her senses, and ran about wild until she died.

3. The grandfather was called to the mountains to gather herbs.

4. I found his mother hiding in the bushes near the river. She said she was called. An uncle of the patient was a witch-doctor also.

I shall be very glad if you can release him to me, so that I can doctor him according to his illness.

17

DIAGNOSIS: *Senile psychosis. Paranoid type*

Family History (written in English by a relative):

1. One cousin was *ukutwasa* a long time ago, so he stayed with the witch-doctor for a year, having treatment, but he couldn't get well at all.

2. There wasn't anyone who suffered from fits.

3. There were some old people in the family who were called to the mountains to gather herbs.

4. No one was called to *Abantubomlambo*.

18

DIAGNOSIS: *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type. Discharged Improved*

Family History (written in Xosa by step-mother):

I do not know of anything happening at his mother's family. I never saw a mad person or anyone going to *Abantubomlambo*. His father is still alive and he never told me and I never asked him. The patient arrived O.K.

19

DIAGNOSIS: *Epileptic psychosis*

Family History (written in Xosa by a cousin):

I am thankful to get your letter and I am writing these few lines to help you. I went to Peddie to make enquiries from the elders of the family. Yes, there was *ukutwasa* in the family. Two had fits and three lost their senses, and they all died without their senses. Before they died they were all over the place.

20

DIAGNOSIS: *Epileptic. Clouded states*

Family History (written in Xosa by uncle):

Our grandmother was a witch-doctor and she was *ukutwasa*. My aunt and my two sisters were also *ukutwasa*. He himself was *ukutwasa* before

he left for your Hospital. If you find you can't cure this native sickness, send him back to me and I will treat him by our methods. I thank you for your kindness in enclosing an envelope with stamp.

21

DIAGNOSIS : *Low-grade mental defect**Family History* (written in English by a native teacher) :

Well, as far as I know the patient's family there is no mental illness. They all seem very intelligent people. A niece of the patient had fits, and she told her grandfather they had to kill two oxen for two uncles who were dead, and they did. I believe she ran out of the hut one night and fainted in the veld. The father of your patient is a sort of witch-doctor and is very keen on his medicines.

22

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (written in English by father) :

In the family of my mother-in-law there are persons who were mad, a male and a female, but I do not know them personally. My sister-in-law was also mixed up. She used to say that the *Abantubomlambo* called her to the Orange River and they wanted the crabs to eat her. She never ran away but stayed quietly at home, and was not really mad, but she died. My wife, the patient's own mother, is weak-minded—totally—but the doctor don't regard her as mad. When she started her mental trouble she used to run away and attempt to kill herself by throwing herself into the Donga.

On my side I have not heard of anyone afflicted by madness. My sister-in-law heard those voices. My son when he started he also ran away because these voices were calling him. You will see that my son's mental debility emanates from my wife's side.

23

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in English by a Trader) :

I may add I have known this family for eleven years.

The following information was given as correct :

1. The patient's grandmother on father's side was *ukutwasa*.
2. The patient's father went off his head slightly and was *ukutwasa*. I know him and he is not normal yet, but is coming round.
3. The patient's eldest brother is mentally deranged and at one time ran about wild, gathered herbs, etc. He is not normal yet.

24

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in Xosa by a brother) :

I have received your letter and I have heard all you said. No one ever suffered from *ukutwasa* on his father's side, but his aunts were *ukutwasa* and an uncle was called to the river, and all of these people heard voices telling them to collect medicines. Some became witch-doctors.

25

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in Xosa by mother) :

1. Negative.
2. Negative.
3. Negative.
4. Negative.

26

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in Xosa by uncle) :

The patient's father was *ukutwasa*, heard voices calling him and telling him to gather medicines. He also heard his grandfather speaking to him. Ultimately he lost his senses entirely.

27

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type*

Family History (written in English by native Methodist Minister) :

I made thorough enquiries from the elders of this family and they say that there were several members of the family, grandfathers, grandmothers and sisters of the patient who were *ukutwasa*. Some of them lost their senses. None of them were called to *Abantubomlambo*.

28

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Hebephrenic type*

Family History (written in Xosa by brother) :

I received your letter and thank you for same. These questions of yours are correct. His father and his mother, as well as his father's sister and his own sister, were all *ukutwasa*. Indeed, he comes from a family who have the *ukutwasa* gift. These are facts which I know. Yes, you are right, there are also some who have been called to the River. Others have heard voices telling them to gather medicines.

The patient was given to me to take care of. I am his godfather and he was sent to Queenstown without my knowing. Otherwise it would never have happened, because there are of his relatives who are witch-doctors and they can treat him.

29

DIAGNOSIS: *Imbecility**Family History* (written in Xosa by uncle):

I received your letter and heard all you said. I am sorry to say to you that we young people nowadays are living among the white man and sad to say are losing our customs. That is bad for us.

I asked the elders and they said one of the patient's brothers was a witch-doctor and a very good one. They said he was bewitched by an elephant and I have not much to say about that. My father's brother lost his senses and was what the white man calls mad, but he kept himself in one place and did not run about. He was a grown man when he lost his senses, but none of his children showed signs of madness. In 1934 my youngest brother got mad; he was running about the hills, and we often tied him up, but after a long time he died of that madness. The patient's sister was very bad with madness, talking and shouting, and she was tied up day and night. I took her to many witch-doctors and the last one made her better, but by this time I was so tired looking after her that I told the Magistrate and she went to Queenstown.

The third son and brother of the patient became mad some time ago but he is receiving treatment at the kraal of the witch-doctor who treated the girl.

Now I should like to know why you put all these questions. Perhaps you can't cure the patient. If that is so send him to me because I know a witch-doctor who will cure him.

30

DIAGNOSIS: *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in English by brother):

Well, sir, I have heard all your questions which you asked from me by the mental disorder of my brother. In your asking me about the relative who had that trouble. Yes! there are. My grandfather when he went to bed at night and got up in the morning went and dug up the medicines he was shown in his dreams. My mother was *ukutwasa*.

31

DIAGNOSIS: *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (written in English by mother):

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that I have been told by my father that there were people who had suffered from *ukutwasa* at my

family home. What do you notice from my son? It may be that he has taken up the tradition of his forefathers who had suffered from *ukutwasa*. I want to come and see him. Could you please send me a railway ticket by post?

32

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Hebephrenic type*

Family History (given through Magistrate's Office):

1. Maternal aunt and uncle are stated to have suffered from a mental illness known as *ukutwasa*.
2. Maternal uncle was subject to fits, fell down, and foamed at mouth.
3. Maternal uncle is stated to have heard voices telling him to gather herbs for medicine.

33

DIAGNOSIS : *Feeble-minded with Epilepsy*

Family History (given through Magistrate's Office):

I have the honour to furnish you with the following information from reliable relatives:

1. There has been mental illness or *ukutwasa* in the family. The person who suffered was his aunt.
2. None of them suffered from fits, lost their senses and ran about wild.
3. His aunt heard voices telling her to gather medicines.
4. None were called to *Abantubomlambo*.

34

DIAGNOSIS : *Feeble-minded without Epilepsy*

Family History (written by member of South African Police):

This family is well known to me. I furnish the information as obtained from the elders:

1. The grandfather of the patient suffered from *ukutwasa*.
2. None of them suffered from fits.
3. Several members of the family heard voices telling them to gather herbs. Some became witch-doctors.
4. Yes, there are people in the family who were called to the *Abantubomlambo*, and their animals were also called.

35

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in English by brother):

In reply to your letter of the fourth instant, I have to inform you that every question you have asked me is fact. My father's brother was a witch-doctor too; he went to the river as far as I know. I beg to conclude.

DIAGNOSIS : *Psychosis with Epilepsy**Family History* (written in English by brother):

Thank you for your letter. In reply to your questions I can say :

1. Robert's father was *ukutwasa* and so was his grandfather.
2. There was none ever suffered from fits.
3. There are witch-doctors in the family who gather herbs for medicines.
4. There is none who was ever called by *Abantubomlambo* as far as I know.

Therefore I request you to send him back to his people and their treatments, for we know it's *ukutwasa* he has got. He was my father's assistant, as my father was a witch-doctor and suffered from the same trouble, and he will also become a witch-doctor if trained.

DIAGNOSIS : *Imbecility with Epilepsy**Family History* (written in English by a relative):

The correct information is as follows :

1. His very grandfather was one of the biggest witch-doctors in the district of Herschel, but how he became one I cannot say. He knew lots about herbal medicines.
2. His father's eldest brother is still a very clever witch-doctor and knows lots of herbs.
3. His grandfather's sister had suffered terribly from loss of senses and ran about wild, shouting and screaming. She died in the same condition.
4. When the patient was queer, his parents took him to his uncle witch-doctor, who said that the *Abantubomlambo* want a sacrifice. That is all information we have obtained.

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic**Family History* (written in English by mother):

In reply to your letter I wish to inform you that his father suffered from mental illness and often used to run about wild, and used to hear voices speaking to him and telling him to gather herbs. At one time he told me that the *Abantubomlambo* was calling him.

DIAGNOSIS : *Psychosis with Epilepsy**Family History* (written in Xosa by a native in the South African Police):

I must say there was somebody who was *ukutwasa*, but he is dead now, and he was an uncle. There are others who were *ukutwasa* on the mother's

side, to whom we are related. My mother and father were first cousins. I do not know of anybody who takes fits in our family, but I do know we have inherited *ukutwasa*. There are people in our family at present who dig herbs and cure people. Please release the patient so that we can treat him with our medicines.

40

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Hebephrenic type*

Family History (written in English by brother):

I address this letter to you as you asked for assistance. The information I can give reliable will be as follows:

1. Yes, there was *ukutwasa*, but please accept this is no mental illness. My grandfather did *twasa*, and we have witch-doctors and herbalists in our family even now.
2. No one suffered from fits and ran wild.
3. Yes, my grandfather heard voices who called him to the mountains, and he went.
4. Yes, there were members of the family who were called to the *Abantu-bomlambo* and were sacrificed by them.

41

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in Xosa by uncle):

Majola, the patient's great-grandfather, had two children, a male and a female. The male, Ngcukuse, became *ukubampana* and remained so until his death. The female, Nomyoho, became *ukutwasa*, was treated, and recovered. She became a witch-doctor.

Ngcukuse had one son, Gcaleka, who became *ukutwasa*; he was treated, recovered, and died a natural death. Gcaleka had a son, Mesi, who became *ukutwasa*, was treated, and recovered, but he still gets fits and falls down.

Nomyoho, the daughter of the great-grandfather, who became a witch-doctor, married, and had three sons. These were Lunyawo, Pungase and Sengi. Lunyawo became *ukutwasa*, was treated, and recovered, and died from other diseases. Pungase became *ukutwasa*, was treated, and recovered, and died from other diseases. Sengi became *ukutwasa*, was treated, and is still well.

Lunyawo's son is the patient Majola, who became ill of *ukutwasa*, and saw an ox skinned for him, but his mother refused to have the sacrifice, and he became *ukubampana*, ran amok, until he was sent to Queenstown. Sengi has a daughter Namajali. She was *ukutwasa*, was treated, and recovered.

The mother of Majola was also *ukutwasa* and had sort of fits. She became a Christian and that is why she refused to allow a sacrifice for Majola, and as a result of her refusal he became *ukubampana* as you know.

I hope this family tree will help you.

42

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in English by a native teacher) :

1. Yes, her own sister suffered from *ukutwasa*, and after going through the native customary rites connected with this illness, she became a native doctor and is still practising as such.

2. No.

3. No.

4. No.

It may be of interest to you to know something about the patient's previous history. As a young girl at school she was very reserved and of a very quiet disposition. When her schoolmates teased her she became very angry. In 1927, when teased again, she took stones and smashed the school windows. She remained very upset and was sent to the Mental Hospital by the "Headman". Her only visible abnormality at this time was her hatred of the white man. She was never dangerous to her own native people.

43

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in Xosa by a relative) :

There is *ukutwasa* in the family starting from grandfather. My aunt, one uncle and his son, are all very good witch-doctors. The patient became *ukutwasa* and was kept at home for a long time but became restless, ran about wild, so we became tired of her troubles and sent her to Queens-town. We are sorry for this now.

44

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (written in English by brother) :

1. The grandfather of the patient was a native doctor who had *ukutwasa*.

2. Don't know of anyone who had fits.

3. Yes, the grandfather heard voices calling him to come and gather herbs.

4. The grandfather was called to the river by the *Abantubomlambo*.

I shall be pleased if you will send her to me so that I can take her to a native doctor for treatment.

45

DIAGNOSIS : *Epilepsy with Imbecility**Family History* (written in English by a relative) :

With reference to your enquiry *re* the patient's family history, I here submit the following information :

1. Grandfather on mother's side, the mother and a maternal uncle and two of his sisters were all mentally deranged.
2. The mother and her sisters suffered from fits and at times ran about in an uncontrolled wild state.
3. The grandfather and the patient's mother both heard voices telling them to gather herbs.
4. These two were also called to the *Abantubomlambo*.

46

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in Xosa by a brother):

1. Firstly, *ukutwasa* was very marked on her mother's side as practically all of them were *ukutwasa*, but on account of being Christians they never became successful native doctors, or at least not yet.
2. I presume you mean here "insanity". Well, all of them became insane because of not becoming native doctors.
3. As they were all people who had no sense on the mother's side they ran amok and were excited—in fact, these things are happening in the family at present. I can't go further back into my ancestors because they were all Christians when I was born.
4. As regards fits, I have seen people take fits in my grandmother's family.

I am very sad to be separated from my sister. Do these questions I answered apply to her case?

47

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in Xosa by a relative):

I am giving you this information as within my personal knowledge:

1. When the patient first took ill, I was told that she was suffering from *ukutwasa*, but unfortunately she was not treated according to custom.
2. Her mother was called into the bush one day and came back carrying leaves, branches and herbs, but she failed to develop *ukutwasa* proper.
3. Her maternal grandmother was a witch-doctor and she was able to give information and dig up herbs.
4. Her youngest brother took a fit while in the shallow water in the river, and died in the water while in this fit.

48

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (given through a Native Commissioner's Office):

It is known that the patient's uncle suffered from turns when he lost his senses, but became normal again after a while.

49

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type*

Family History (written in English by a brother):

My father's mother was a qualified "Diviner", having passed through the native process of *ukutwasa*. When my sister was young she used to prophesy, and what she said came true. She left home and went to East London, and this put her off according to our way of thinking, since people of this kind are, as custom demands, kept under strict observation, and as result she was sent to you as mad. On my mother's side there were several "diviners". An aunt of mine at present in Cape Town is a fully-fledged "Diviner". There were no epileptic people in our family and none were called to the *Abantubomlambo*.

50

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Hebephrenic type*

Family History (written in Xosa by the mother):

1. Yes, there were people who were *ukutwasa* in our family.
2. It was Mary (patient) who wandered away from home.
3. There are those who were called to gather and make medicines.
4. One of our children, a boy, once sank into the river and was drowned because my daughter cried and this cry was fatal to the boy, for if the *Abantubomlambo* calls there must be no crying if the person is wanted back alive. Here with us are many relatives who were *ukutwasa*.

Please send me a ticket to visit you and then I will explain everything in detail.

51

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type* (Discharged)

Family History (written by a relative, a minister of the Church):

From question one to four my answer is No. The patient is still well. I can answer these questions in general if you wish me to do so.

52

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type*

Family History (given through a Magistrate's Office):

1. There has been no mental illness in the family.
2. No one suffered from fits.
3. Negative.
4. Negative.

(It is likely that the interpreter enquired for "insanity" instead of *ukutwasa*.)

53

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. There was *ukutwasa* in the family. The patient's aunts suffered from this disease. They are now dead.

2. No.

3. No.

4. No.

54

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (written in English by husband) :

First thing, I will say I am ignorant of native custom because my father was an Evangelist. Therefore I don't know my wife's people's history, but I do know she was called by the *Abantubomlambo* in 1906. She recovered from that condition. In 1912 she was impragaranant two months and had a miscarriage, then she had faintings and unconscious, her bottom body became cold. The doctor fixed her up. Long afterwards she started having simple complaints, spoke to herself and saw invisible things, etc. Then she started being absent from home for days, and said one or two sensible words.

55

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written by a Constable, South African Police) :

1. An aunt of the patient suffered from *ukutwasa*.

2. A brother of the patient suffered from *ukutwasa* and ran wild in the hills.

3. The same brother heard voices telling him to gather herbs, and he became a witch-doctor.

4. Your patient's first child was illegitimate—father unknown. This child is now a full-grown man and is a patient in a mental hospital in Natal.

56

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (given through a Magistrate's Office) :

The mother of the patient was interviewed at this office and gave the following information : There have been several cases of mental illness in the family. A cousin of the patient died at Fort Beaufort Hospital, another cousin died, having a series of fits. None of the family heard voices or were called to the *Abantubomlambo*.

57

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Hebephrenic type*

Family History (written in English by a relative) :

I received your letter and heard all the contents therein. I am very sorry to keep it so long. I have written to friends unsuccessfully to explain things for me. There are people in our family, I know, who have been called to the river and some did not come up again. I know nothing about other questions. Family not here now.

58

DIAGNOSIS : *Epileptic psychosis*

Family History (written in Xosa by father) :

There was *ukutwasa* in the family. My mother was *ukutwasa*. She ran about wild, went to the river and came back a witch-doctor. Whenever she fell in a fit we used to sing for her, and when she got up she thanked us and danced. She knew many medicines, but is now dead. Well, sir, I have a request to make. Let the girl come home. I want to try some of these medicines my mother discovered on her.

59

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in English by a relative) :

1. Yes, there was *ukutwasa*.
2. Yes, I knew one who ran about wild, had fits and fell down. He died 30 years ago.
3. Quite a number of the family has heard voices telling them to gather herbs.
4. Not as far as I know.

60

DIAGNOSIS : *Senile psychosis*

Family History (written in English by a relative) :

The patient's grandmother was *ukutwasa* and lost her senses. The patient was startled by something while crossing a river many years ago, and lost her senses.

61

DIAGNOSIS : *Epileptic.*

Family History (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. No.
2. Yes, one boy—a brother, about ten years of age—took fits, and during one seizure he fell into a fire and died as a result.
3. No.
4. No.

62

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type* (Died 1934)

Family History (written in Xosa by a relative) :

1. *Ukutwasa* is a common condition in our family.
2. Several of our family have been called to the River. Our elders took care of these relatives and thus kept them from harm, but we children of education are failing to follow our father's customs, and we have thus no means of taking care of those who become *ukutwasa* or are called to the river. Yes, we have failed.

63

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type*

Family History (written in English by a relative) :

The uncle of the patient is a mental patient at present in Fort Beaufort Mental Hospital. This is all the information I have.

64

DIAGNOSIS : *Manic Depressive type (manic)*

Family History (written in English by a son) :

I have heard all you said. Well, I am going to tell you all about my mother. Yes, there is *ukutwasa* in my mother's family—my grandmother was a witch-doctor. And when my mother was a girl she became *ukutwasa* and was called to the *Abantubomlambo*, but was caught and brought back. On another occasion she was again called, and is said to have stayed a fortnight with the River People. Thereafter she cured many people by her knowledge of herbs ; both black and white came to her from far and near.

65

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type*

Family History (written in English by a relative) :

Sir, in short, I wish to relate what I know for sure about this girl's family. Her mother had a mental illness and died in Grahamstown Mental Hospital. Before she went to the hospital she collected herbs and ran about wild.

66

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in English by her husband) :

I know the history regarding my wife. I know it different from Insanity. I am right, and I do not want wrong ways.

1. I know no such *ukutwasa* in family.
2. Her mother "lost her senses" and was cured by native doctors and native medicines.
3. I know not.
4. My wife was called to *Abantubomlambo* before she went to your place.

Please hear my word. Let me have her to cure and learn of me afterwards and you will find it good. Let no one but me cure her by our medicines.

67

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type* (Discharged)*Family History* (written in English by brother) :

I want to answer your questions about my sister.

1. My grandfather was called to the River and he was returned back. My elder brother had *ukutwasa* for a long time.
2. I know nothing about the other questions. This is all I know about my family. My sister who came from the Hospital is still ill in her mind and not like a normal person.

68

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (written in English by brother) :

1. Her grandfather suffered from *ukutwasa*.
2. No.
3. No.
4. I never heard of any.

69

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in English by an uncle) :

I received your letter and understand what is your wish. There is *ukutwasa* in our family. Her aunt and her mother were both *ukutwasa* and became witch-doctors. Kindly send the patient to me if you discharge her. I am guardian of her children.

70

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. Maternal and paternal grandmother were related and suffered from a mental illness known as *ukutwasa*.
2. No.
3. Maternal grandmother is stated to have heard voices telling her to gather herbs for medicine.
4. No.

71

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (written in English by uncle) :

With reference to your letter of the 1st instant, I beg to inform you that the cousin of her mother was the only one in the family who was *ukutwasa* and lost her senses. Otherwise the families on both sides are normal.

72

DIAGNOSIS : *Feeble-minded* (Low grade)*Family History* (written in Xosa by a relative) :

Yes, there is a first cousin of the patient in your hospital. She became insane some years ago. Their respective fathers were brothers. I am sorry, but this is all I know.

73

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Catatonic type**Family History* (given through Magistrate's Office) :

1. An uncle of the patient was a *iggira* (witch-doctor), so is a girl cousin.
2. Does not know.
3. Does not know.
4. Does not know.

There are other members of the family much better informed, but not in the neighbourhood.

74

DIAGNOSIS : *Schizophrenia. Paranoid type**Family History* (written in English by a relative) :

I feel very sorry to have heard of this said news so late, as the letter had long been written and awaited. My services have been referred to East London in a sudden. I daresay these questions probably should have

been useful if they have been answered in time, as they were very urgent from the physician. You will excuse me, sir, for delaying the responds. Kindly accept the following careful information next paper.

1. Grace's grandmother was *ukutwasa*, or she was mentally ill and lost her senses, but was cured by a witch-doctor.

2. Grace's aunt did suffer from fits, and this is very well known. She also lost her senses and has not yet got cured because she has not yet been taken to the witch-doctor for good treatment.

3. Another aunt of Grace was acquainted with the Lions speaking to her and telling her to gather herbs. These unseen Lions accompanied her wherever she went so that she may not be interfered with. This was wonderful. They went with her while she goes digging or doing anything.

4. A cousin of Grace who I know well claim to have been called to *Abantubomlambo*—he is a man with mystery thoughts.

Many thanks
for mental inquiries.

75

DIAGNOSIS : *Imbecile*

Family History (written in English by a relative):

1. I don't know.
2. I don't know.
3. I don't know.
4. I don't know.

76

DIAGNOSIS : *Manic. Depressive Manic*

Family History (written in English by a brother):

I very much regret the fact that your letter, urgent as it was, strayed for a considerable period, because I had removed to East London. I hope you had not despaired of a reply and thereby send off your valuable manuscript without my little information.

I am submitting the detailed information *re* family diagrammatically for purpose of clearness. I sincerely hope that I have adequately answered your questions. Although I have not gone beyond grandfather, my investigations are fruitful.

It will be discovered, if one went still further into the various branches of this clan, that the whole sib of which this family is a member is affected. Blood relationships in marriage have linked them closely together. One may justly ask if this family has the *ukutwasa* trouble, and are there any witch-doctors in this family. The answer as to witch-doctors must be an emphatic No. I know the family history very well. *Ukutwasa* has been inhibited but not eradicated by abandoning completely all the customs of our people. The family is Christian, and hence they considered that the reversion to custom would not be tolerated by the morally good.

The progenitor of this family suffered from all the ailments summarized in your four questions, but he refused the advice of the clan doctors that he should be initiated. The generations coming after him did likewise, and thus the mental illness spread like wildfire through the whole family, reinforced by similar illnesses derived from wives who were blood relatives. With these remarks I have great pleasure in forwarding to you my diagram which I hope will serve the purpose for which they are intended.

(The elaborate diagram enclosed clearly set out the following information. The grandfather and two paternal granduncles each suffered from *ukutwasa*. Three of his paternal uncles were *ukutwasa*, and one of them was also subject to epileptic seizures. His own father was *ukutwasa*. His father has eight children of whom three were *ukutwasa* on several occasions, including the patient. One of the brothers who was *ukutwasa* is still subject to epileptic seizures. One brother has six children, and four of them have been *ukutwasa*.

The informant states that two of his maternal uncles were also *ukutwasa*. The patient can be considered as a genuine manic depressive with manic phases.)

77

DIAGNOSIS: *Manic depressive. Depressed type*

Family History (written in Xosa by a relative):

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the family history to give information of value.

78

DIAGNOSIS: *Epileptic*

Family History (written in English by relative):

1. Yes, maternal grandmother and cousin.
2. Yes, sister and cousin.
3. Yes, maternal grandmother.
4. Yes, a cousin; finally disappeared in a pool.

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